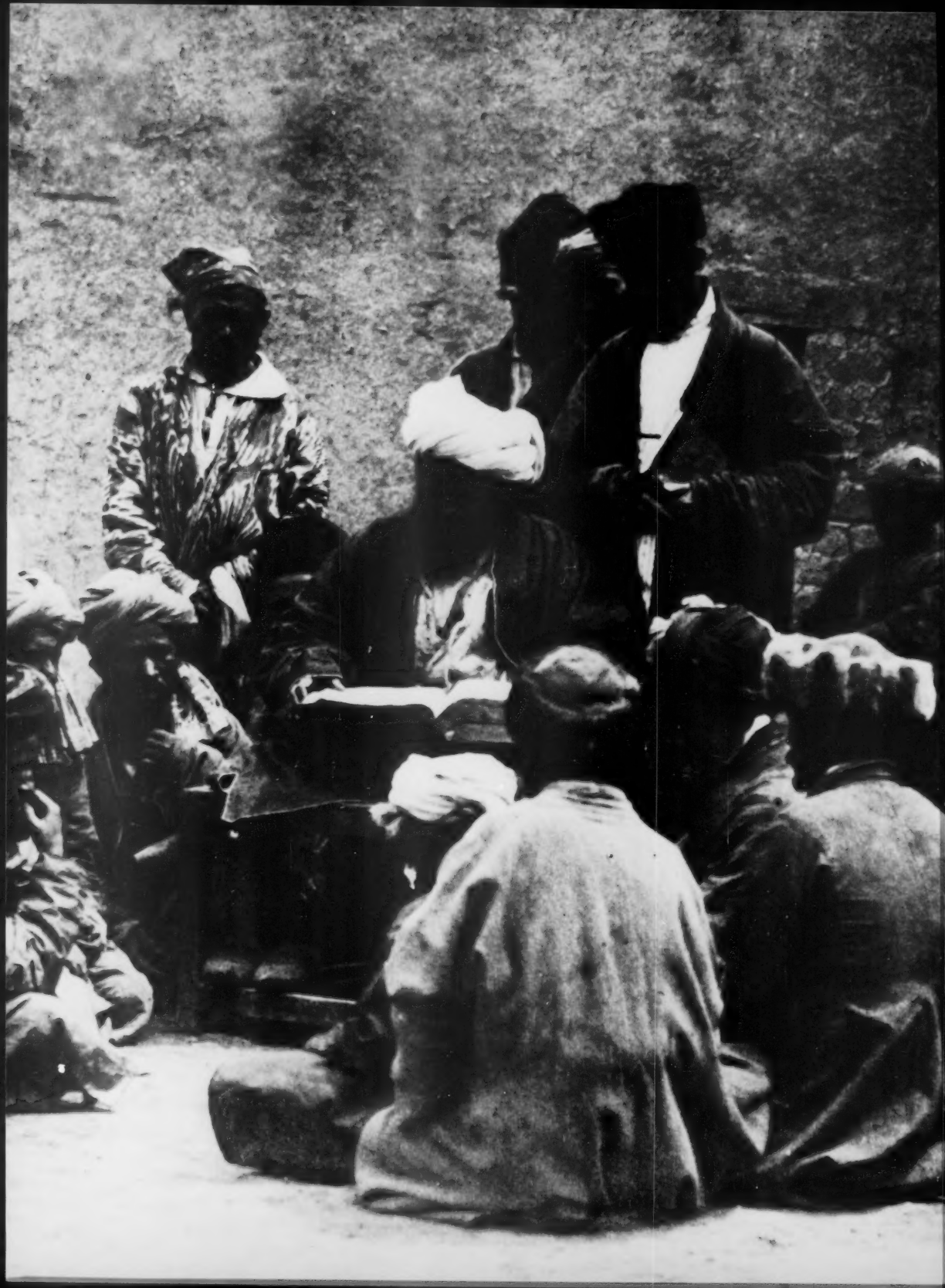


FALL 1983 ISSN 0041-7939

# *The Quarterly Journal of the* **LIBRARY of CONGRESS**







# *The Quarterly Journal of the* **LIBRARY of CONGRESS**

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VOLUME 40 / 1983



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# The Quarterly Journal of the LIBRARY of CONGRESS

Volume 40 Number 4

FALL 1983

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**COVER:**

The village of Karabulak, Syr  
Darya Region, Russian Central  
Asia.

**COVER INSET:**

Facade of the mausoleum of  
Akhmed-Hadji in Samarkand.

**INSIDE FRONT COVER:**

Reading of a legend of  
Mohammed in Tadzhik.

**INSIDE BACK COVER:**

Bela Lugosi in *Dracula* (1931).  
Courtesy of Universal Pictures.

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A land of crumbling monuments, diverse peoples, and basic light  
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The history of the Spanish language, for one thousand and one  
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The Library became the repository for prints, posters, documents,  
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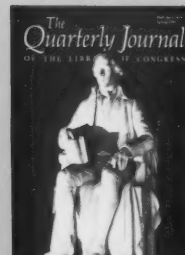
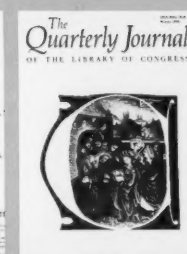
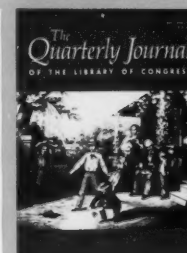
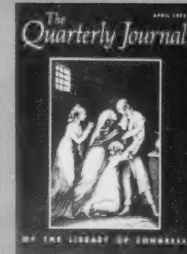
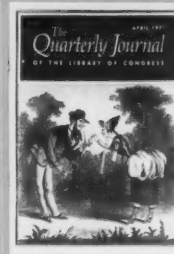
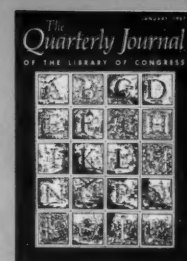
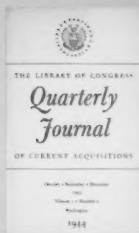
BY WILLIAM H. ROSAR

The horror films produced by Universal Pictures in the thirties made  
the names of Frankenstein and Dracula household words and have  
enjoyed continuous popularity for five decades. The role played by  
music in these films was affected by prevailing trends in the industry  
as well as by the personal whims of those involved in their  
production.

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# Editor's Note

This is the final issue of the *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*.

As we cease publication, I would like particularly to thank:

our authors, who have taken care to follow Librarian Archibald MacLeish's initial instruction that they "write *as* scholars but not necessarily *for* scholars,"

the *QJ* staff, who in spite of full schedules editing and producing the Library's many other publications have managed to find time to put together this "work of cooperative scholarship," and

our readers, whose continuing loyalty to a journal that was often elusive and sometimes eccentric firmly establishes their membership in that select group "to whom books are not tools alone but objects of human and humane interest and concern."

FM

# Turkestanskii Al'bom"

## *Portrait of a Faraway Place and Another Time*

BY BRENDA PARKER

In the 1840s the Russian military was well established in the Caucasus, the exotic, mountainous home of Tolstoi's Muslim hero Hadji Murad. For three very good reasons, the Russians looked eastward across the Caspian Sea to begin conquest of an even more exotic Islamic region. This was the region of Turkestan, or, to use a more geographically descriptive term, Central Asia. In his historico-political work entitled *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule* (1960), Richard A. Pierce describes the region as "a largely homogeneous geographic, ethnic, and cultural unit extending eastward from the Caspian Sea and the lower Volga to the border of China, and northward from Iran and Afghanistan to Siberia. Today it comprises the Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republics of the USSR" (p. 5).

Initially the Russians began a military campaign against Turkestan to put an end to raids and attacks carried out by the Kazakhs, an ethnic group indigenous to Turkestan. For many years, this group of Central Asians had raided Russian Cossack and peasant villages along the southern border of Siberia and had attacked caravans

The binding of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*", Ethnographic Section, Book II

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ТАНСКІЙ АЛЬБОМЪ  
ЧАСТЬ  
ОГРАФИЧЕСКАЯ

1871-1872.

II.



traveling to Turkestan. Because of this, the Cossacks and peasants requested aid and protection against these attacks from the Russian government. A second reason for conquest of Turkestan was one of the ancient motives for one nation invading another—the craving for wealth. The Russians wanted to seize control of the rich lands of the Kazakh people and hoped to take ancient treasures of the khans and sheiks who ruled the states of Turkestan. A third reason that sent the Russians into Turkestan was their desire to prevent the British, who were already in Afghanistan, from penetrating into Turkestan and interfering with long-established political and trade relationships which the Russians maintained.

With this excellent motivation, the Russian military began its campaign and found for the most part that they faced poorly equipped, disorganized bands who were no match for their own well-equipped, experienced troops. They won the majority of the battles easily, with few Russian casualties. In general, conquest of the Turkestan region was relatively simple because of the conditions that existed there at the time. Over the years, the clan-organized nomadic peoples of Turkestan had fought endless blood feuds. Moreover, the rulers of the various states of Turkestan were constantly warring over land and power. So by the 1840s the economic, political, cultural, and social conditions of the region were marked by stagnation and suffered from decay. Pierce describes the result of this internecine strife:

Kun and other compilers of the *Turkestanskii Al'bum* focused on three geographic entities within Turkestan: the Zaravshanskii District (Zaravshanskii Okrug), the city of Samarkand, and the Syr-Darya Region (Syr-Dar'ia oblast'). The Zaravshanskii District was formed on June 27, 1868, and included the territory formerly ruled by the Khanate of Bukhara. The city of Samarkand was located in the Zaravshanskii District. The Syr-Darya Region was one of two large administrative regions initially designated by the Russian government on July 14, 1867, the second being the Smirechie Region. Each region was governed by a military governor, both coming under the authority of Von Kaufman. The Dzhan Kopryuk Bridge, opposite, was located in the village of Karabulak in the Syr-Darya Region.

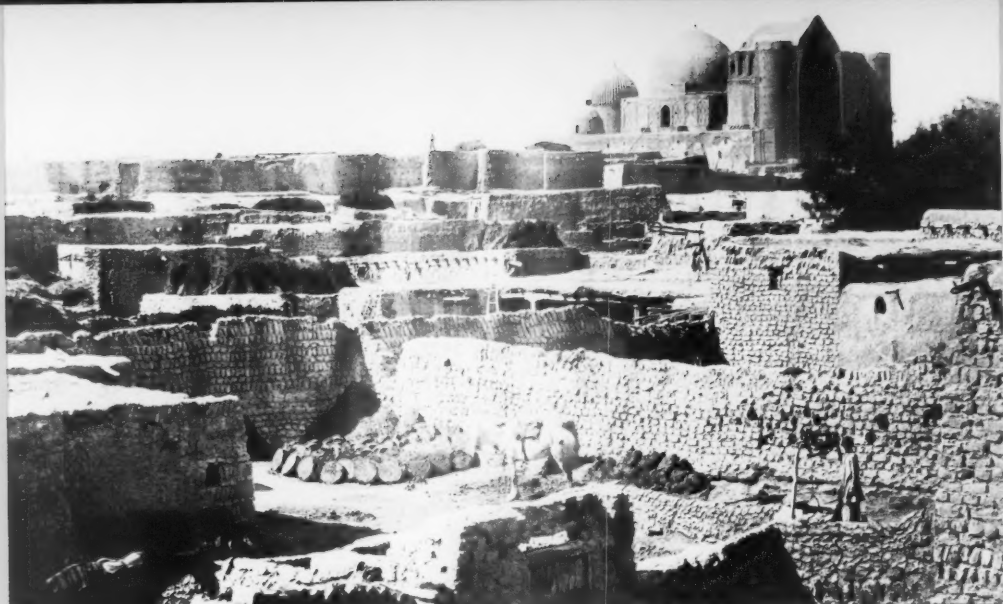


Konstantin Petrovich Von Kaufman, governor-general of Turkestan from 1867 to 1882

Inhabitants of the three main states of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand and their dependencies carried on irrigated agriculture, handicrafts, and trade as in ancient times. Their great days, however, were long past. Bactria and Fergana, Khoresm, and the empire of Timur had risen, held their brief sway, and vanished, leaving dead cities and empty canals to be covered by the desert sands, or crumbling monuments which dwarfed the rude structures of later times. The glories of the time when Central Asia was a highway for East-West trade and a center of wealth and civilization lived on only in tradition, perhaps all the brighter in the telling because of the oriental imagination. "Golden" Samarkand, Bukhara "the noble," and Merv "the Queen of the World" came down to modern times as conglomerations of low flat-roofed houses of mud and cobbles, clustered around the ruins of better days.

... Though Central Asia had achieved a high level of prosperity in earlier times, by the middle of the nineteenth century the region was in a state of decay, isolated from the modern world, its population static, and its economy depressed.





A portion of the city of Turkestan, located in the Syr-Darya Region



The citadel of the city Ura-Tiube, with a view of the Orthodox Church, in the Syr-Darya Region

Samarkand was one of the greatest cities of the Turkestan region. Located between two important rivers, the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya, it was a magnificent center of trade and learning under Timur, better known as Tamerlane, in the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Samarkand was even more famous for its beautiful architecture. By the time the

Russians took the city, in 1868, however, the buildings were largely in ruins. The compilers of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*" paid tribute to the past greatness of Samarkand by including many photographs of the ancient ruins under the heading "Samarkand Antiquities." The photograph opposite shows a view of the ancient city from the Holy Kyzra Mazar.





A soldier from the Ural Cossack Division, decorated for his participation in the taking of the Iany-Kurgan Fort on June 5, 1867

It was ripe for change, which in the nineteenth century usually came to backward lands through conquest by stronger, more advanced neighbors. (Pp. 12-13)

In 1845 and 1847, the "stronger, more advanced" Russians took three small forts—Turgai and Irgiz (1845) and Ramsk on the Aral Sea (1847). The taking of these forts, though they were small, was significant, because with them the Russians took control of the Kazakhs and gained three excellent locations to store supplies and arms. By 1867, the Russians had conquered sufficient territory to establish a seat of government. On July 11, 1867, Tsar Alexander II decreed the establishment of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan, appointing Konstantin Petrovich Von Kaufman as the first governor-general of the Turkestan region.

Von Kaufman had complete authority in the Turkestan region, including the power to declare war. Much of his rule was influenced by two factors—first, a desire to maintain prestige in the eyes of his St. Petersburg superiors and other European visitors and, second, the wish to present to the natives of Turkestan a controlling

A group of eight Russian soldiers from the Georgian Cavalry who were decorated for the capture of the city of Khodzhent on May 24, 1866







The city of Kokhand was located in the Khanate of Kokhand, one of three large agricultural states (along with Khiva and Bukhara) which were controlled by Bukhara. In this photograph Turkestan troops assemble in the interior court at the gate of the Khanate Palace in the city of Kokhand.

government which was not only powerful and permanent but also prosperous, well-organized, and sympathetic to the needs of the people there. Motivated by these two aims, Von Kaufman ordered the establishment of a European-style city in Tashkent, the capital of the governor-generalship. In a short time, the city of Tashkent contained huge buildings, wide tree-lined streets and avenues, and large European-style homes. The new capital soon also boasted a museum, an astronomical observatory, a meteorological station, a Russian newspaper, a native newspaper, and the Turkestan Public Library. Von Kaufman was especially enthusiastic about the Turkestan Library, which housed all available material on the Turkestan region. In 1871, an important contribution was made to the library when Von Kaufman commissioned a beautiful collection of photographs of life in Turkestan and the Russian occupation there. This collection, mounted in a multivolume set of albums, was entitled *Turkestanskii Al'bom*". The albums were lithographed by the Military Topographic Section of the governor-generalship. There were

probably seven sets prepared, including one for the library, one for Tsar Alexander II, and one for Von Kaufman.

Von Kaufman held the position of governor-general until his death in 1882. The Turkestan Public Library and its holding were almost destroyed by Von Kaufman's successor. Fortunately the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*" survived and contributes today to our knowledge of the history of the region.

**O**n initial examination of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*" one will understand why Pierce refers to it as "formidable." Six books make up the collection and each measures 45 by 60 cm. There are approximately twelve hundred photographs and drawings. The collection is even more formidable in scope. The six books cover four subject areas: archaeology (two books), ethnography (two books), industry, and history of the military occupation. In the preface, the compilers listed



The citadel of the city of Khodzhen in the Syr-Darya Region



Galia-Asiia, a village on the outskirts of Samarkand

their objectives for the use of these four areas: "to represent visually (1) the past life of the region in preserved ancient monuments (archaeological section), (2) the contemporary life of the inhabitants—patterns, beliefs, religious rites, customs, dwellings, dress, and views of the more populated surrounding districts (ethnographical section), (3) the culture of the country in industry and related technology (industrial section), and (4) the movement of the Russians into new countries . . . and portraits of the representatives who were first to open the way to Central Asia (historical section)."

There were four compilers for the *Turkestan-skii Al'bom*"—M. T. Brodovskii, N. V. Bogeavskii, M. A. Terent'ev, a general of the Turkestan military district, and A. L. Kun, a naturalist who became the chief inspector of schools for the Turkestan region from 1876 to 1882. Kun's name is listed on the title pages for all six books in the collection and for that reason it has been referred to as "The Kun Collection."

Kun and the other compilers of the *Turkestan-skii Al'bom*" accomplished the objective set forth in the preface. The visual account of life in the Turkestan region depicted in the collection is

vivid and informative. The two books of the ethnographical section clearly show the cultural similarities as well as the cultural diversity of the ethnic groups of Russian Central Asia. Book I begins with photographs of representatives from most of the Central Asian ethnic groups, including Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Jews, Arabs, Iranians, and Gypsies. Book I also includes an excellent comparative look at the wedding rites of three of the ethnic groups—Kirghiz, Tadzhik, and Jewish. Book II includes photographs of social amusements of the Central Asians, including pictures of festivals to celebrate holidays, games, entertainers, and places of entertainment. Both books in this section include photographs of religious rites, classroom scenes, market and street scenes, and many other aspects of everyday life in Central Asia.

The industrial section presents an informative, often step-by-step account of the region's technology and the production taking place in Central Asia in the 1800s. It includes photographs of the textile industry, showing processing, weaving, and products made from cotton, silk, and wool as well as photographs of the process of fabric printing. Other industries represented in this section include iron production, leather production, baking, pottery, irrigation methods, farming, smithing, and reed production.

The two books of the archaeology section are perhaps the most informative of the set, not just for the photographs of Islamic architecture but also for the contrast revealed between the region's past glory and the primitive existence the Russians encountered. Picture after picture shows rude brick buildings arrayed in front of the ruins of still imposing palaces, mosques, and medressehs (Muslim schools). A few of the ancient Islamic structures are intact, but most are in various stages of decay and deterioration. Under the theme "Samarkand Antiquities," both books provide excellent accounts for the study of archaeology.

The compilers obviously took great pains to document architectural details. Most of Book II is arranged to give a full architectural and archaeological description of each structure shown. This arrangement begins with an architectural drawing in watercolor of the general plan and cross-section of the structure, followed by photographs of general exterior views, and

exterior views from all sides. Next are numerous photographs of the interior, entrances, and exits, and very detailed photographs of such features of the structure as minarets and columns and of the inscriptions and tiles which trimmed the exterior and interior portions of the structure. The archaeological section also includes beautiful watercolor details of inscriptions and intricate decorative tiles.

Finally, the main objective of the historical section—portraying the movement of the Russians into Central Asia—is accomplished by including photographs of Von Kaufman, other top military officials, and junior officers, as well as group photographs of the Russian soldiers decorated for the battles of the Turkestan occupation. The historical section also includes photographs of fortresses and citadels, Russian settlements, the home of the governor-general, and monuments to the Russian soldiers killed in battle. The highlights of this section are the watercolor maps which show specific battles and sites of captured cities and fortresses.

One of the seven sets of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom* is now among the many treasures in the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Its acquisition is somewhat of a mystery, however. In Paul Vanderbilt's *Guide to the Special Collections of Prints & Photographs in the Library of Congress* (1955), it is stated that the collection was purchased from Israel Perlstein, a New York dealer, in 1934. No specific reference is made to the collection, however, in either the Librarian's 1934 annual report or in any of the Perlstein correspondence files. One good speculation is that the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*, which was initially in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division, came to the Library as a part of the Tsar's Winter Palace Collection which the Library acquired in the early 1930s, though in the catalog for the collection there is no specific mention of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*. Also in the Prints and Photographs Division collections is a smaller ethnographic album which contains photographs of men and women of the different ethnic groups of Central Asia, similar to the photographs in Book I of the ethnographical section of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*.

Because of the beauty, fine workmanship, and endurance of the *Tukestanskii Al'bom*, Von



# ОСАДА И ШТУРМЪ УКРѢПЛЕННАГО ГОРОДА ХОДЖЕНТА

30

Масштабъ въ Английскихъ дюймахъ 200 саже.

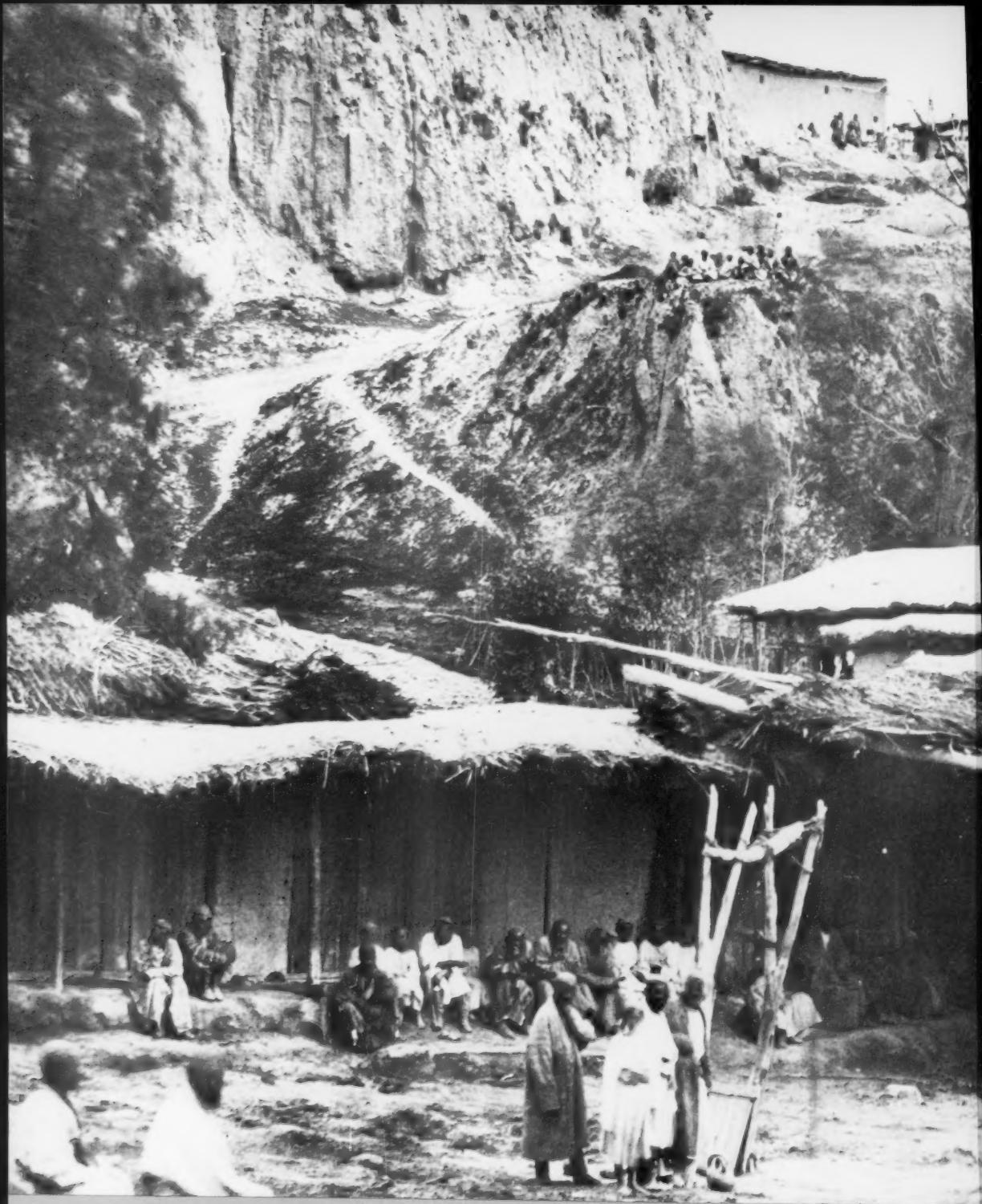
съ 17 по 24 Мая 1866 года.



Kaufman's government did, in a sense, make a powerful, permanent statement. From the harsh poverty and backbreaking labor depicted in photographs of miners hauling coal from deep within the earth, to the decaying splendor reflected in photographs of ancient ruins, the *Turkestanskii Al'bom* brings to life the Central Asia of the 1800s.

A watercolor map of the Russian attack and capture of the fortress in Khodzhen which took place from May 17 through May 24, 1866

BRENDA PARKER is an indexer of Russian-language materials at the National Library of Medicine. She has translated text and captions of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom* for the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress.



The village of Karabulak in the Syr-Darya Region

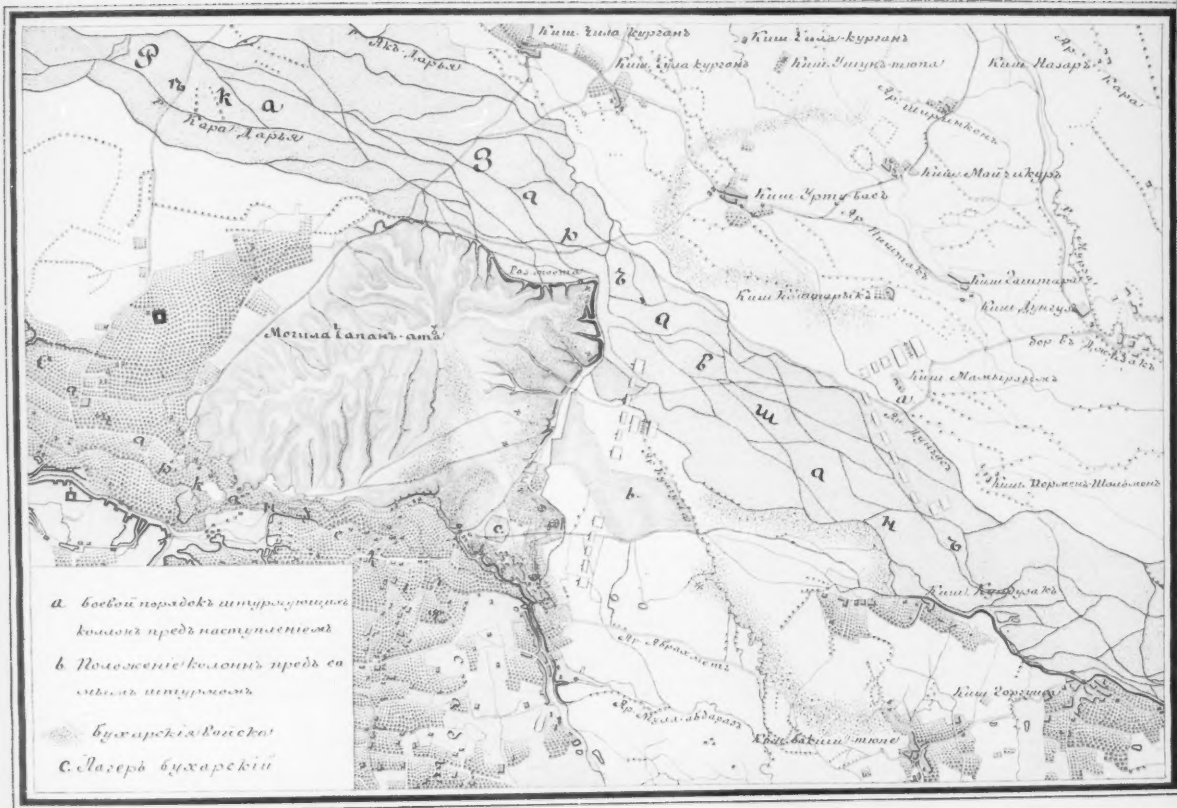




# ШТУРМЪ САМАРКАНДСКИХЪ ВЫСОТЪ

1<sup>го</sup> Мая 1868 года

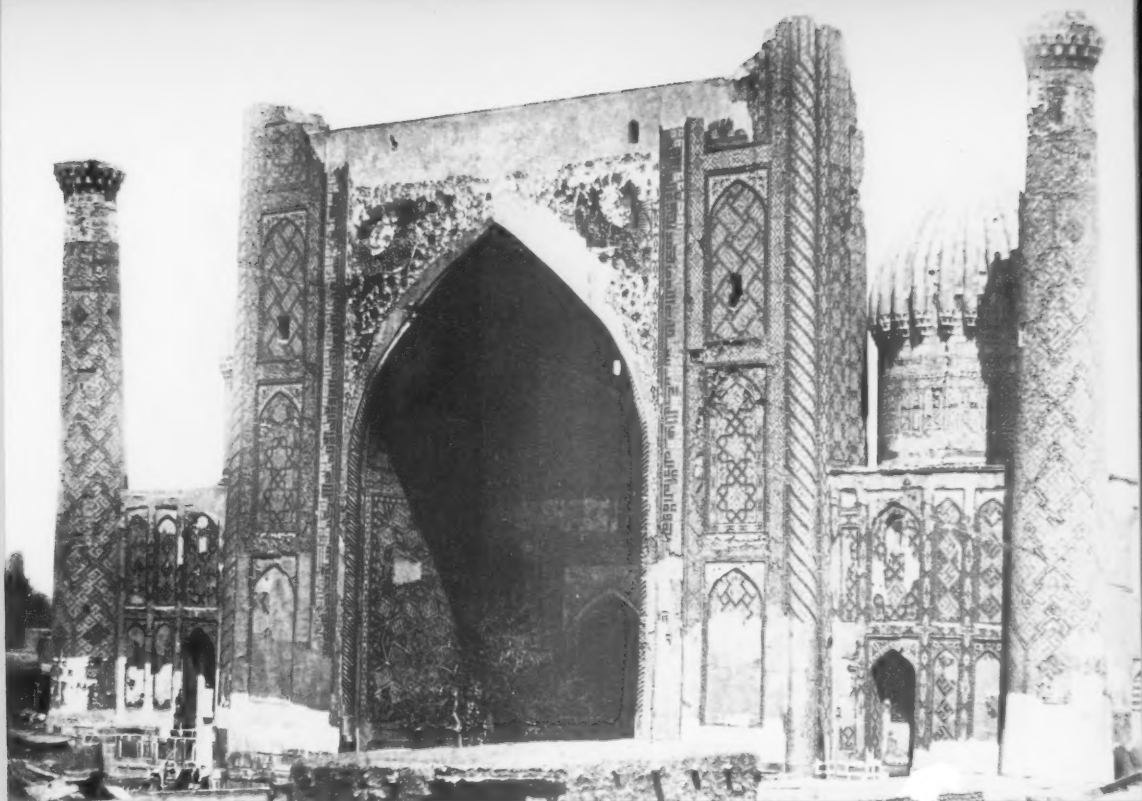
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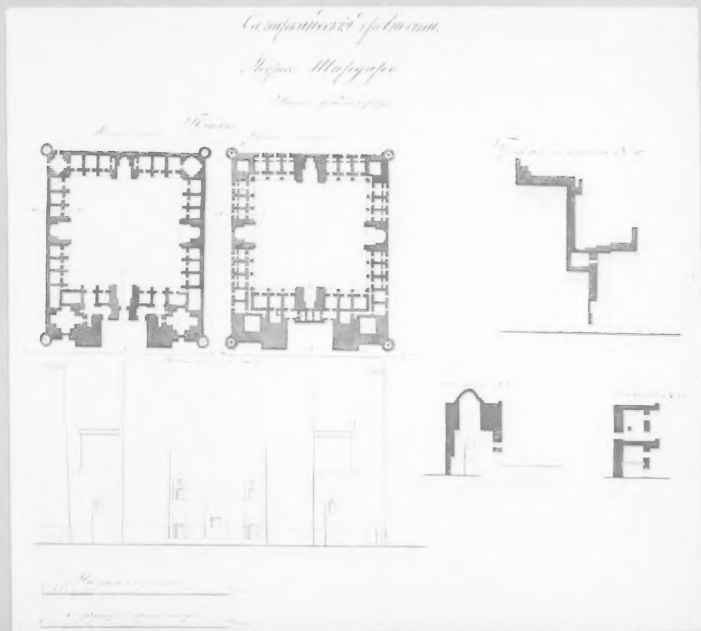
A watercolor map of the Russian attack of the Samarkand ridges on May 1, 1868



The Bukharskii Gate in Samarkand



A western view of the main facade of the Shir Dar Medresseh, a school built by Bagardar Vezir Imam Kuli Khan in 1648



An architectural plan of the Shir Dar Medresseh

## Ethnography

The ethnography of Turkestan is extensively covered in the *Turkestanskiĭ Al'bom* by photographs of members of the various ethnic groups, of their dwellings, schools, and celebrations—both religious and secular—and of many other aspects of life-style and culture. The three photographs here of nomadic dwellings in the Turkestan region are examples of the excellent selection of photographs in the collection. The nomadic peoples of Turkestan lived in tentlike structures called *ui*, which the Russians called *kibitkas*. Kibitkas were made by tying from five to nine sections of latticed wood in a circular pattern, leaving an opening for a doorway. Sometimes the door was made of wood, but more often it consisted of a heavy flap of felt. The kibitka was covered with several pieces of heavy felt tied

in place with rope. A felt lining was added to the interior of the kibitka during the winter. In summer the felt could be rolled up to cool the interior. The entire structure was flexible enough to be contracted for carrying and expanded for setting up. The ground inside was covered with felt or *palas*, which were pileless woven rugs. One side of the kibitka was the woman's side and contained domestic utensils. The other side, the man's side, had weapons, saddles, and harnesses. In the middle was the hearth, with a huge cauldron hung on a tripod. In the back there were wooden chests containing all personal belongings. Decorative pieces of felt were often draped over the wooden chests and hung on the walls.



The tentlike dwelling of nomads in Turkestan





An open kibitka, with the latticed-wood frame exposed



A family inside the kibitka





An Uzbek woman, Khimet-Ai



A Jewish woman, Banu-Ai



An Uzbek man, Baba-Bii, who had formerly been a bek, a ruler of a province. In the political hierarchy of Turkestan, the beks came directly under the khans.



A gypsy man, Zakhid-Bai



A group of beggars share daily alms.

FALL 1983



Fumigation of a sick man in Samarkand



Selling tea



The workshops for an Aralsk flotilla in the city of Kazalinsk



A water-carrier in Khodzhent



An Indian man, named Baitauvar



Selling silk





A waterfall in the village of Piandzhshambe Siab in the Zaravshanskii District





The arrival of Jews from Bukhara in the city of Kazalinsk in the Syr-Darya Region



A Central Asian meal



A series of photographs show the activities that took place for a Jewish wedding. The groom is Mulla Borukh.



The bride, Hanna



Mulla (second from left) and the men from his family and his fiancée's family gather for the wedding proposal ceremony.



Hanna is surrounded by friends at the Devishnik, a party for girls given by the bride-to-be on the eve of her wedding.



The wedding ceremony of Mulla Borukh and Hanna

## Religion

Islam was the predominating religion in Turkestan at the time of the Russian occupation and still maintains that status in modern Central Asia. The Islamic religion came to the region in approximately 652 A.D. through Arab conquest, overshadowing the prevailing ancient Iranian religion, Zoroastrianism. Just as in other Islamic countries, Islam influenced all facets of life in the Turkestan region—education, dress, and social status of women, politics and law, everyday life, and architecture—and the photographs in the *Turkestanskii Al'bom* clearly illustrate this point. Because of the diverse ethnic cultures of Turkestan, there were many other religions also practiced in the region, including Judaism and Christianity. Below are selections from the collection which represent “purely” religious aspects of life in the Turkestan region.

The reading desk for the Holy Koran built by the Bukharskii Emir. It was photographed in the Shakh Zinde Mosque in Samarkand.

### OPPOSITE PAGE:

In the interior of the Kok Gumbaz Mosque in Ura-Tiube, the concave niche in the wall of the mosque indicates the direction of Mecca.

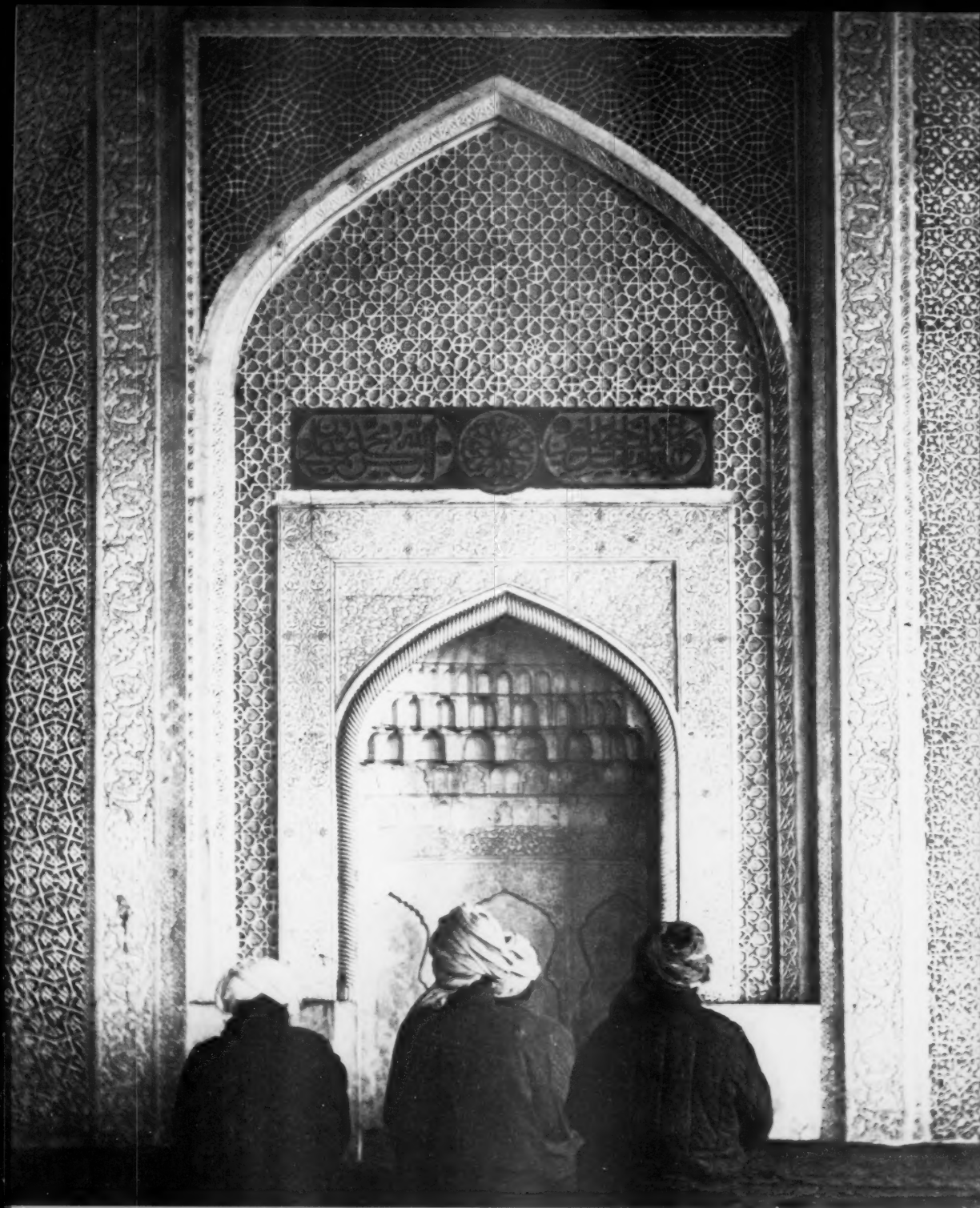


A Muslim performing ablution before prayer, a ritual called here “Turat-Kerden”



Prayer lessons in a Jewish school in Samarkand





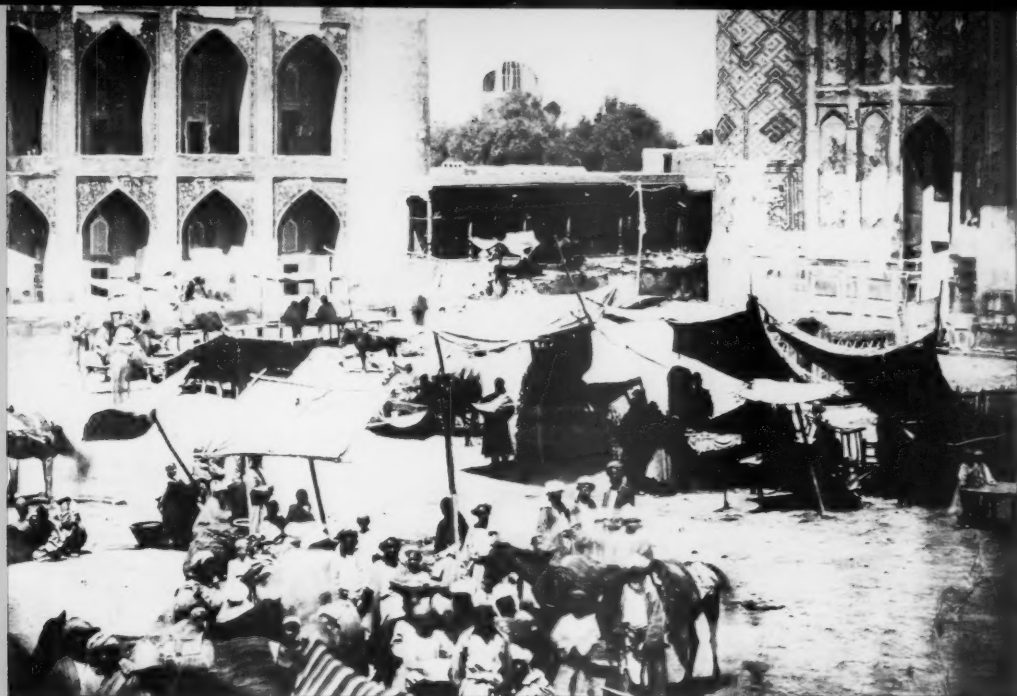




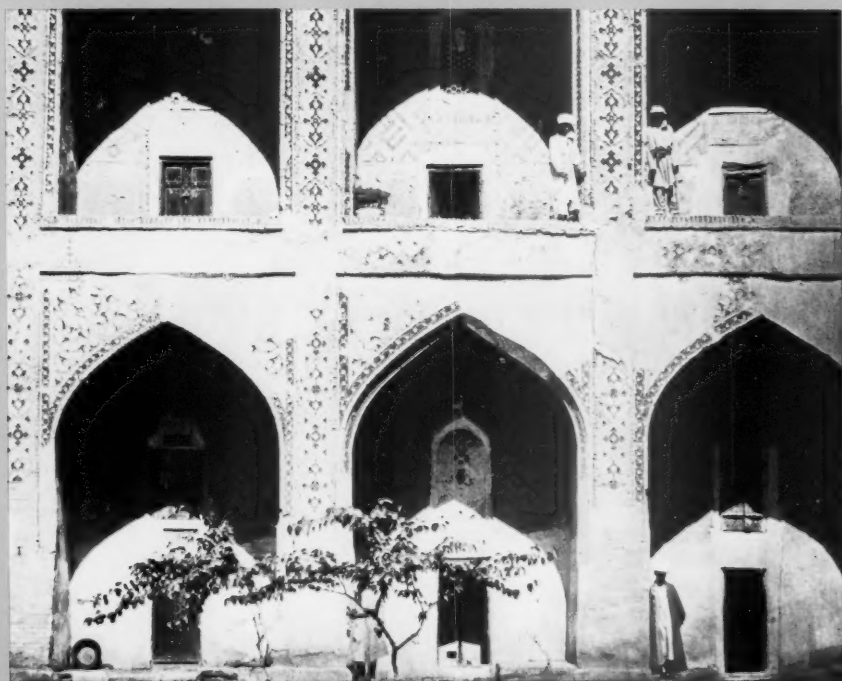
A reading of the legend of Mohammed in Tadzhik



A circumcision



A market square in Registan surrounded by three medressehs. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, a Moslem boy began his religious study at a medresseh. The school was usually associated with a mosque and was often established and funded by a wealthy family seeking grace in the afterlife. A medresseh consisted of cell-like rooms built around a central courtyard.



The rooms of a medresseh



The building of the medresseh of Sultan Murat Bek in the city of Kokhand





## Amusements

A study of the amusements or social life of inhabitants of the Turkestan Region will reveal two important influences—the Islamic religion and the marketplace. Because of the Islamic religion, most social activities were for men, either as participants or as spectators. Two of the most predominant activities were visits to the teahouses and performances by dancing boys. The marketplace was an important influence because it was the primary location for many social activities. There performances by local and traveling entertainers—including clowns, dancers, and actors—were always in progress. Large festivals, both religious and secular, occurred in the marketplace, and the popular teahouses were located there.

A clown, one of the many kinds of entertainers found in the marketplaces



An opium-smoker





Among the most popular pastimes of the men were the conversations held in teahouses, many of which were located in this section of the city of Samarkand.



This women's dance is one of the few social activities in which women could take part.



Wrestling matches enjoyed by the inhabitants of Kurya in Turkestan

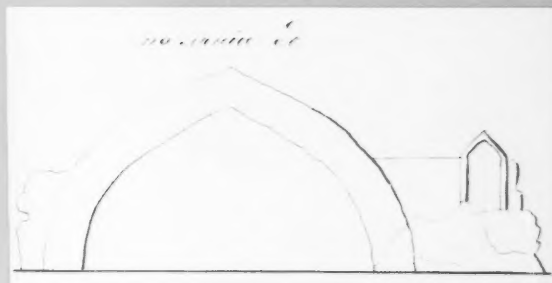
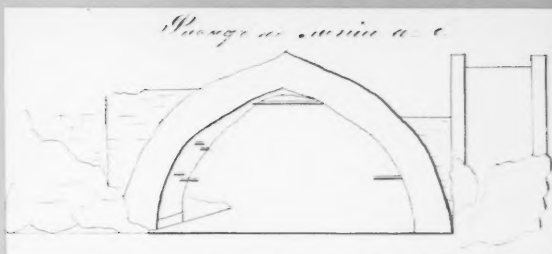


Many times girls participated in races against men. During these races the girl showed her riding skills not only in speed but also in ability to escape from the men, who often attempted to cut off her path.

## Archaeology

The archaeological remains photographed for the *Turkestanskii Al'bom* reveal something about the civilization of an earlier time. In his book *Peoples of Central Asia* (1966), Lawrence Krader describes the period when Timur's line ruled Turkestan, from the end of the fourteenth through the beginning of the fifteenth century. "Architecture flourished: the mosque of Shah-Zindeh, the Registan, the medresse of Bibi Khanum, Timur's tomb 'Gur-i-Mir,' the observatory of Ulug Bey, great edifices of the Samarkand region, date from the Timurid period." These ancient monuments are represented in the beautiful photographs of the archaeological section of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*, made even more dramatic by the harsh contrast of the desolate sun-dried brick dwellings of the nineteenth-century towns of Turkestan.

Architectural drawings of the Shadman Malik Bridge



The Shadman Malik Bridge in Samarkand

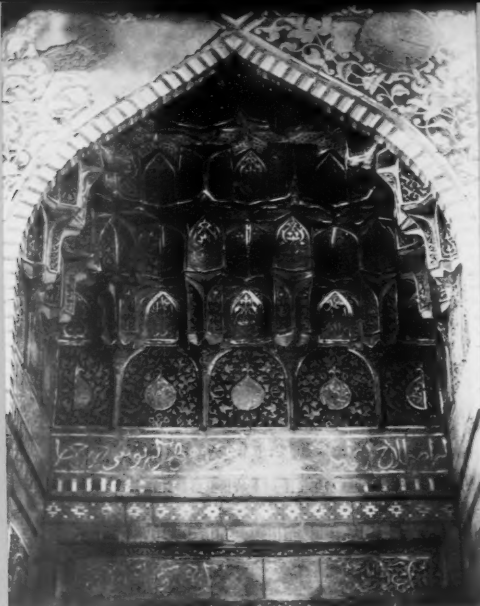


The facade of the mausoleum of Akmed-Hadji in Samarkand

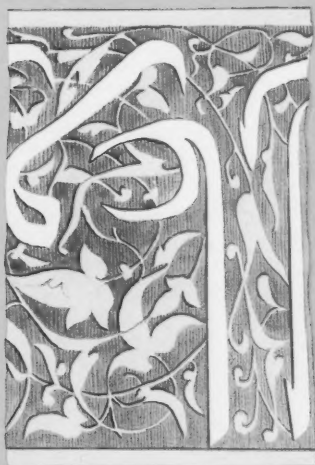




A watercolor rendering of a rosette from the inside trimming of the mausoleum of Emir Abu-Tengi in Samarkand



Trimming from the upper part of the entrance niche of the mausoleum of Emir Kutulka Trudi Bek-Ak in Samarkand



A color sketch of a segment of the trimming from the facade of the mausoleum of Akhmed Hadji in Samarkand



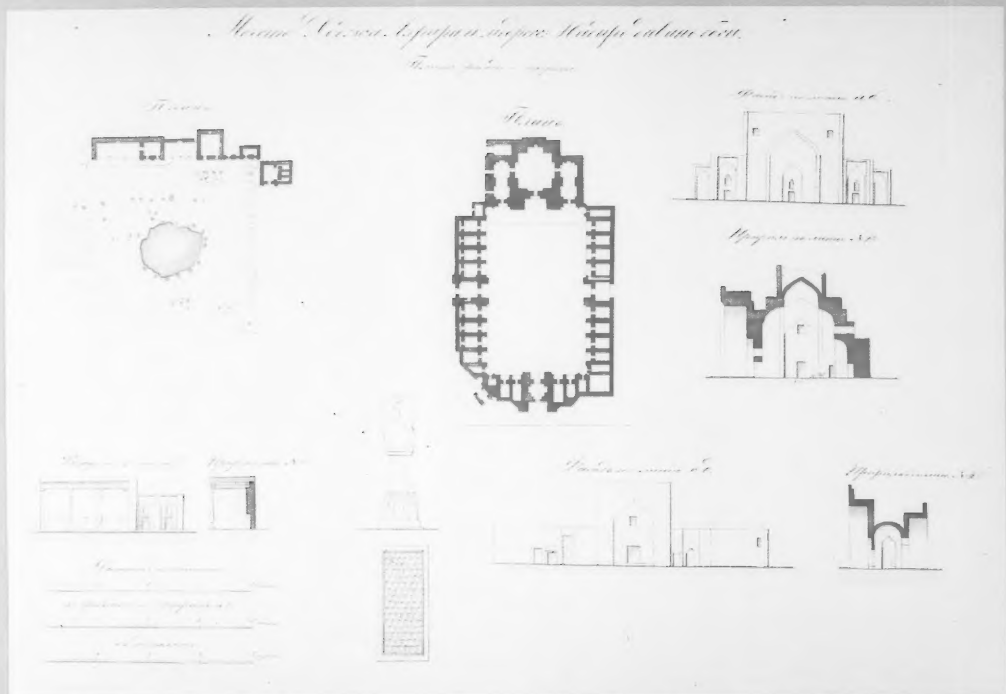
Watercolor sketch of a piece of tile trim, a segment of the inscription on the facade of the Sha-Arap mausoleum

A watercolor depiction from the wall trimming, including part of the inscription over a window, from the mausoleum of Sha-Arap in Samarkand

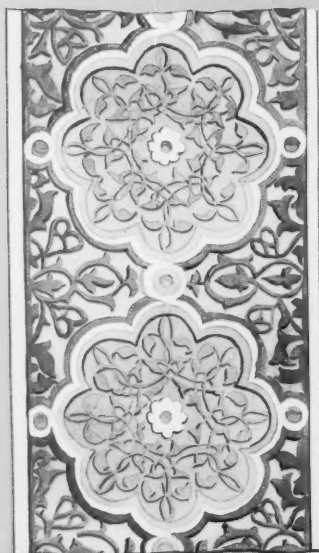


A portion of a stalactite decoration inside the Sha-Arap mausoleum





Architectural elevations and floor plans of the Hadji Akrar Mosque in Samarkand



Tiles from the facade of the mausoleum of Emir Kutulka Trudi Bek-Ak in Samarkand



A mikhrab, or prayer niche, in the Hadji Akrar Mosque



A southern view of the facade of the mausoleum of Kutulka Trudi Bek-Ak



The Kokal-Tash Medresseh in Tashkent, built by the Barak Khan



A southern view of the mausoleum of the Holy Sheik Nuretdina Bashir Kutbi-Chaardakhum





A northern view of the facade of the mausoleum of Kutulka Trudi Bek-Ak

FALL 1983



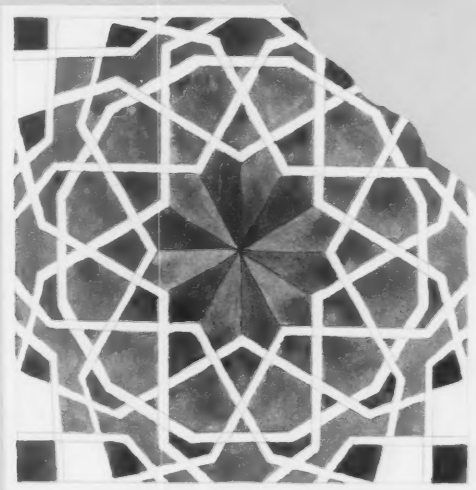
The pulpit, or *minbar*, inside the main mosque, Tilliam Kar Medresseh, in Samarkand



A view of the upper ruins of the mausoleum of Sha-Arap



A stalactite decoration inside the mausoleum of Sha-Arap



An incomplete tile colored in black and blue, part of the wall trim of the mausoleum of Sha-Arap



Painting of a portion of a column from the Sha-Arap Mausoleum (left)



A watercolor detail showing a motif from the trimming of the facade of the Sha-Arap mausoleum



A view of the facade of the mausoleum of Sha-Arap

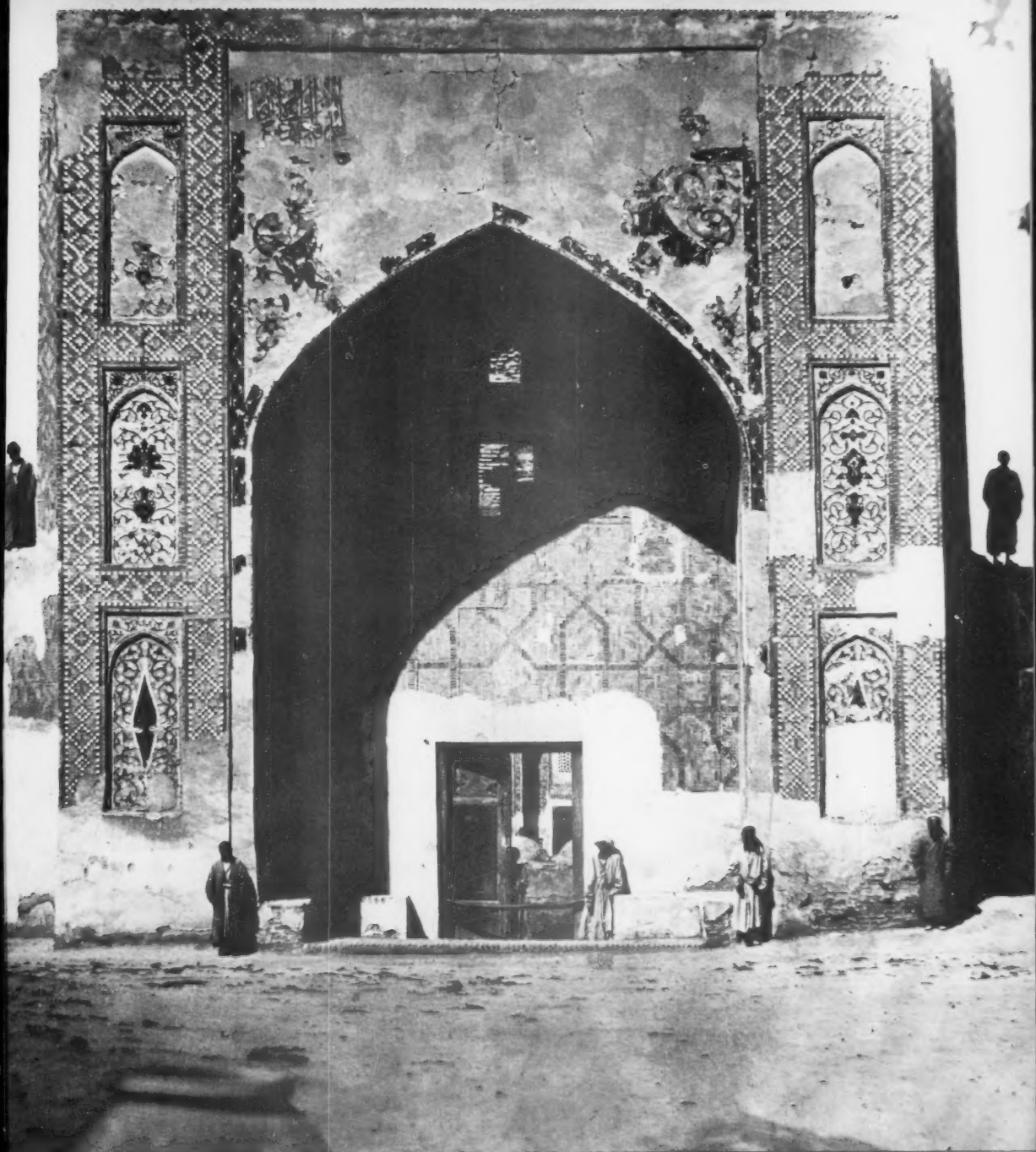


A colorful detail from the trimming on the sides of the entrance niche of the mausoleum of Emir Abu-Tengi



A detail of the decorative trimming found in the entrance niche in the mausoleum of Emir Abu-Tengi in Samarkand





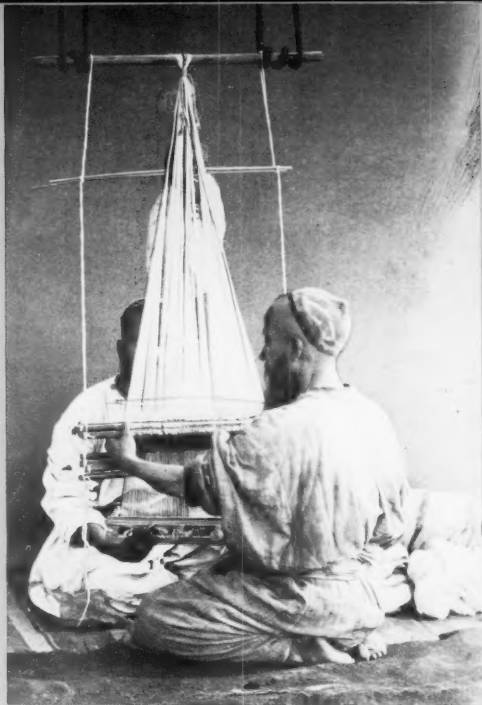
A view of the main entrance of the Nadyr Divan

FALL 1983

## Crafts & Industries

The industrial section of the *Turkestanskii Al'bom*<sup>1</sup> presented a well-organized exposition of the industries and crafts of the Turkestan region, including photographs of skills which were very ancient and honored, such as weaving. The marketplace also played an important role in this phase of Central Asian life as the location for the buying and selling of wares, products, and food and also as the location of shops and guilds for master craftsmen. The organization of workshops in the marketplace indicated the degree of specialization of the Central Asian craftsman. Often a product would travel from one shop to the next to be completed, each stage of its production done in a separate place.

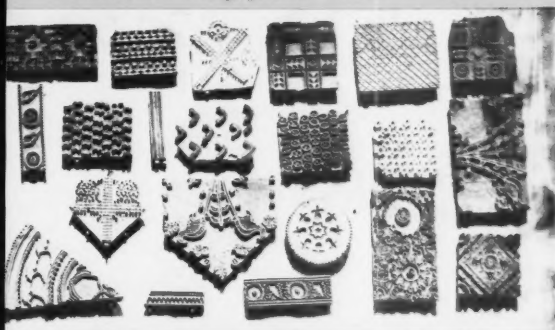
Craftsmen weaving silk on the loom



Highly skilled master craftsmen had perfected techniques for unwinding silk from cocoons.



Here silk is being spun on a wheel.



Pattern stamps for fabric printing



Drying cloth



A loom for making *alacha*, a multicolored silk material



The manufacture of earthenware pots for ovens



Potters at work with their wheels





The preparation of wheel rims for a bullock cart



Individual parts will be assembled to construct a cart for use in Kokhand.



A wheel for pumping water into an irrigation canal near the village of Zirabulak



A worker in a flour mill



A bakery



Men are using wheelbarrows to haul coal from the mines in the Syr-Darya Region.



A view of the mines of Chimkend





A forge for fusing cast iron



Shoeing a donkey



A view of a leather factory in Tashkent



Two leatherworkers stand ready to trample  
millet seed on a raw skin.



Merchants selling finished footwear



Selling wares made from reed



Domestic utensils made from iron



Selling pastries



The making and selling of candles





A vendor of flat cakes

FALL 1983



# A Thousand and One Years of the SPANISH LANGUAGE

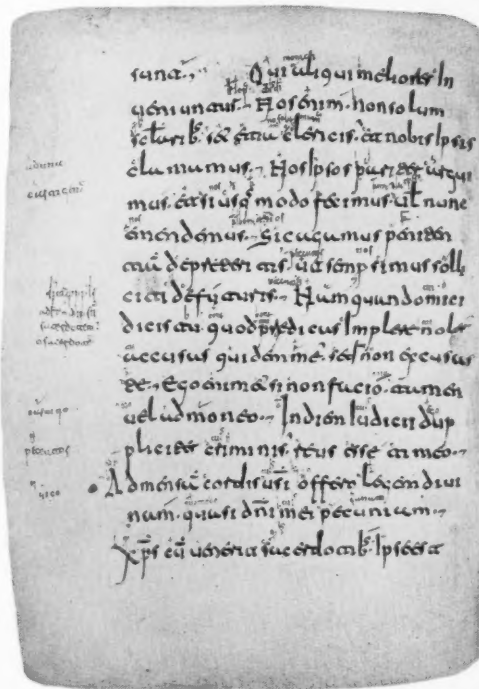
BY M. J. HARDMAN-DE-BAUTISTA

*To the ladies speak Italian, to the gentlemen French, to the birds English,  
to the dogs German, . . . but Spanish speak only to God.*

Carlos V

In 1981 the Library of Congress participated in the celebration of a thousand and one years of the Spanish language<sup>1</sup>—a thousand because it is now approximately a millennium since the first written documents of the language were produced, and one for the beginning of the second millennium.<sup>2</sup>

It is, as we know, very difficult to assign a date of birth to a language. In no known case did anyone go to bed speaking Latin and arise speaking Spanish. Rather, as the vernacular language diverged from the ancestral one, the latter became more troublesome for students, so they coped by making marginal "crib notes" in the vernacular—thus giving us the date we celebrate. The *Glosas emilianenses*, found in the Monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla, are just such crib notes or text notes and are dated from the second half of the tenth century. Other notes from the same period appear in the *Glosas silenses* and on the back of a parchment in the Catedral de León appearing to be nothing more than a simple shopping list.<sup>3</sup> Early notes of this type could hardly be called modern Spanish. More accurately, they should be cited as examples of Peninsular or Iberian Romance—and thus should be looked upon as writing in the precursor of all the Romance languages spoken on the peninsula today. In recognition of this fact, any discussion of the first thousand and one years of the Spanish language should rightfully include Portuguese.<sup>4</sup> Even with that allowance,



The *Glosas emilianenses* provide proof of the existence of an early Spanish vernacular. These glosses provided notes for the understanding of this tenth-century manuscript. These illustrations are taken from a facsimile reproduction by the Spanish Ministry of Education entitled *Las glosas emilianenses*.

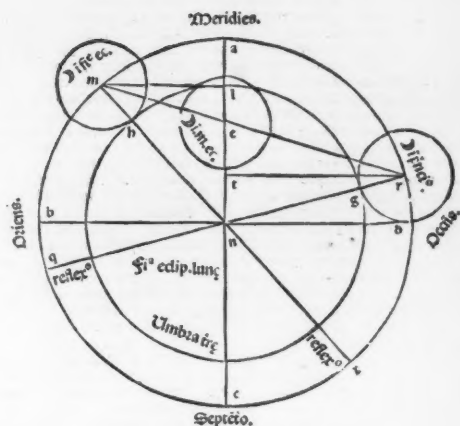
Antonio de Nebrija published the first systematic grammar of Spanish in 1492. The fact that it was written in Spanish and not Latin signifies the growing influence of Spanish as a vehicle for scholarship. His title page is dedicated to Queen Isabella.

Ala muy alta e asy esclarecida princesa doña Isabel la tercera deste nombre Reyna i señora natural de España e las islas e nuestro mar. Comiença la gramatica que nueva mente hizo el maestro Antonio de lebrija sobre la lengua castellana. e pone primero el prologo

**Q**ue lo en buen ora. Quando bien conmigo pienso muy esclarescida Reyna: i pongo de clare los ojos el antiquedad de todas las cosas: que para nuestra recordacion e memoria quedaron escriptas: una cosa bállo e fáco por conclusion muy cierta: que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio: e de tal manera lo siguió: que junta mente començó, crecieron, e florecieron, e después junta fue la caída de entrambos. Y deradas agora las cosas muy antiguas de que a penas tenemos una imagen e sombra de la verdad: cuales son las delos asirios, indos, sicionios, e egipcios: en los cuales se podría muy bien provar lo que digo: vengo a las mas frescas: e aquellas especial mēte de que tenemos mayor certidumbre: e primero a las delos judios. Cosa es que muy ligeramente se puede averiguar que la lengua ebraica tuvo su niñez: en la cual a penas pudo hablar. Y llamo io agora su primera niñez todo aquel tiempo que los judios estuvieron en tierra de egipto. Y por que es cosa verdadera o muy cerca de la verdad: que los patriarcas hablaban en aquella lengua que traxo Abrahám de tierra delos caldeos: basta que de cendieron en egipto: que alli perceria algo de aquella: e mezclarian algo de la egipcia. Mas después q̄ salieron de egipto: e començó a bazer por si mesmos un erpo de gēte: poco a poco apartarian su lengua cogida quanto io pienso de la caldea e de la egipcia: e de la que ellos terminan comunicada entre si: por ser apartados

a.ii.

Figura eclipsis lunaris.



The "Alfonsine Tables" of Alfonso X were the combined result of experiments carried out between 1252 and 1262 and the translation from the Arabic of studies of the Cordovan al-Zarqali. Shown are a lunar eclipse diagram and the title page from the 1492 edition of the *Tabulae astronomicae* published in Venice by Johannes Hamman.

problems of boundaries persist. It is difficult, for example, to decide just where a language such as Gallego belongs—for it is claimed as independent by some of its speakers, as Portuguese by Portugal, and as Spanish by Spain.

Even the term *Spanish* itself is one that merits a good deal of scrutiny. The particular variety of Iberian Romance that spread throughout the world under the name of Spanish is primarily

that variety which first matured in Castile—otherwise known as Castilian—but with overlays of attributes from Andalusia and other areas of Spain where those who accompanied, or were, the first conquerors, explorers, and settlers originated. Since Castile had made war on its Christian neighbors with at least the fervor that characterized its wars against the heathens, it gradually became the power center of the penin-



Alfontij regis castelle illustrissimi celestium motuum tabule: nec non stellarum fixarum longitudes ac latitudines alfontij tpe ad motus veritatem mira diligentia reducte. Et primo Joannis saxonensis in tabulas alfontij canones ordinari incipiunt faustissime.



**T**emptus est mensura motus primi mobilis: ut vult Aristoteles. iiii. phisicor. Cum igitur motum scire desideramus necessaria est nobis temporis precognitio: ut cognita temporis quantitate: motum sibi correspondentem cognoscamus. ¶ Est igitur intelligendum quod in distinctione temporis ad usum tabularum Alfontij incedimus modo phisico scilicet per numerum sexagenarium ut diuisio temporum diuisioni signorum correspondeat. Gradus vero in astronomia dicuntur integra. Et cum compleri fuerint. 60. gradus ponitur per eis unum signum in istis tabulis. frangitur enim gradus in 60. minuta: et minutum in 60. et sic semper ultra. ¶ Simili modo procedimus in tempore incipiendo a diebus tanquam ab integris et duplici via incedimus sicut

tam dictum est in gradibus scilicet colligendo et frangendo. Colligimus namque dies ab uno usque ad 60. et vocamus dies prima: et cum collecta fuerint 60. prima ponimus per eis unitatem. et vocamus illa que ibi colliguntur et cum puenerint 60. per eis ponemus semper unitatem et vocamus 3: et colligimus usque ad 60. per quibus etiam ponimus unitatem: et vocamus illa 4. Dicitur ergo breuiter quod dies vocamus per: et 60. per facit unum 2<sup>m</sup>. et 60. 2<sup>m</sup> unum 3<sup>m</sup>. et 60. 3<sup>m</sup> unum 4<sup>m</sup>. Et ultra 4 non procedimus nunc: quia non indigemus: esset enim plusquam 36000 anni antequam 60. 4 complerent. In frangendo autem tempus semper procedimus per diuisionem sexagenariam. Et diuidimus dies per 60. partes equales quas vocamus minuta dierum et quodlibet minutum in 60. et sic semper. Ista autem diuisio temporis est multum conueniens ad inueniendum motum planetarum: cum distinctio motuum sit per 60. statim enim cum scio quod aliquis planeta mouetur in die per unum gradum scio quod in 60. diebus mouetur per unum signum quod valet 60. gradus. Et in uno minuto diei quod est sexagesima pars diei mouetur per unum minutum quod est pars 60. gradus: et sic de alijs est intelligendum.



**N**umerum annorum mensuram et dierum a principio alicuius tempore nobis notum ad 4. 3. 2. et per sine tabulis reducere. ¶ Multiplica numerum annorum perpositorum per 365. et illi numero resultanti ex tali multiplicatione adde quartam partem annorum perpositorum: quam partem si habere volueris: diuide numerum annorum per quatuor: et numerus quotiens est numerus quam queris. Et scias quod in diuidendo annos perpositos numerus totalis nunquam surgit nisi in anno bisextili: que si post diuisionem. 3. vel. 2. uel unum remaserit nihil cuius es quia significat annum post bisextum: et numerus pueniens erunt dies: cum quibus adde dies mensuram anni imperfecti si aliquos menses ultra annos completos habueris: et dies mensis imperfecti si aliquos dies ultra menses perfectos habueris: et numerus pueniens erit numerus dierum a principio illius tempore a quo incepisti usque ad tempus considerationis tue. Quo

مُرْنِي بِحُجْ عِنْدَمَا وَأَعْتَبَارُ وَلَا أَعْتَذَارُ قَلْبِي هَدْيٌ وَدُمُوعِي جَارُ  
 أَهْلًا وَإِنْ عَرَضَ بِي لِفَتُونُ بِالْقِسْوَةِ يَحْسَبُهَا الصَّبْرُ لَيْنُ  
 عَلِمْتَنِي كَيْفَ أَسَى الظَّنُونُ [ . . . . . ] الْجَفُونُ  
 مَدَّ بَانَ عَنْ تِلْكَ اللَّيَالِي الْقِصَارُ نَوْمِي غِرَارُ كَأَنَّمَا بَيْنَ جَفُونِي غِرَارُ  
 حَكَمْتُ مَوْلَى جَارِي حِكْمِي أَكْتَبِي بِهِ لَا مُفْصِحًا بِأَسْمِي  
 فَاغْجِبْ لَأَنْصَافِي عَلَى ظُلْمِي وَأَسْأَلُهُ عَنْ وَصْلِي وَعَنْ حَرَمِي  
 أَلْوَى بِحَقِّي عَنْ هَوَى وَاخْتِيَارِ طَوْعَ النِّقَارِ فَكَلِّ أُنْسٍ بَعْدَهُ بِالْخِيَارِ  
 لَا بَدْءِي مِنْهُ عَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ مَوْلَى تَجْنِي وَجْفاً وَاسْتَطَالِ  
 غَادِرِي رَهْنُ أَسَى وَأَعْتَلَلِ ثُمَّ شَدَا بَيْنَ الْهَوَى وَالْذَّلَالِ:  
 مَاوِ الْحَبِيبَ دُمَا صَارَ مَا دَرَّ شَارَ بَغْيِي شَامِشَ كَفْ دُمَا عَارُ (١٢)

The earliest examples of Spanish poetry are found in the last line, the *Kharja*, of some Arabic "Muwashshaha" poetry. The *Kharja* shown is from the *Diwān* of the "Blind poet of Tudela," Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allah al-A'mā al-Tuḥlī (d. 1126), and was written in Spanish in the Arabic alphabet.

The work of Bernardo Aldrete, *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana* (1674), marks the beginning of Romance philology.

sula, and therefore Castilian became the primary variety of Iberian Romance to be exported across the seas.<sup>5</sup> Joaquín Calvo Sotelo, playwright and one of the foremost members of the Real Academia de la Lengua Española, has suggested that Castellano is the language's "maiden name" (*lengua* is, in Spanish, feminine), but that Spanish is the "married name"—that which she gained upon marrying herself beyond her frontiers with the whole world. In Spain itself, besides Castilian, the Catalan, Gallego, and Basque languages could certainly be considered as Spanish as Castellano. Perhaps reflecting such realities, the use of *Español* is far from universal in referring to the language even today; for example, in the Andes, *Español* is used only for the people or objects from Spain—the language remains Castellano.

# DEL ORIGEN Y PRINCIPIO DE

LA LENGVA CASTELLANA.

ò Romance que oy se vsa en  
España.

## COMPUESTO POR EL DOCTOR BERNARDO

ALDRETE, CANONIGO EN LA SANTA  
Iglesia de Cordova.

AL SEÑOR DON GREGORIO ALTAMIRANO  
Portocarrero, Cavallero de la Orden de Santiago, del Consejo de su Magestad en el de  
Hazienda, y su Contaduría mayor, Contador mayor de la Orden,  
y Cavalleria de Alcantara, &c.



CON PRIVILEGIO En Madrid, por Melchor Sanchez, a costa de Gabriel de Leon, Mercader del  
Rey, en la calle de la Pasa. Año 1674.

Based upon the first direct record we have of its separation from the mother tongue into Romance, the birth date of written Spanish, then, can be placed in the second half of the tenth century. As the language now begins its second millennium, it has risen to fourth place in the number of speakers worldwide (220 million), followed in fifth place by its Iberian sister, Portuguese (110 million). Combined, these lan-

Luis de Camoës, the most famous of Portuguese poets, wrote his *Os Lusíadas* (1572) in praise of the exploits of the Portuguese explorers. Camoës wrote at the time when the Spanish language was undergoing its greatest development—and indeed, Spain coveted Portugal. While Camoës wrote some poetry in Spanish, his *Os Lusíadas* guaranteed the literary independence of the Portuguese language.

# OS LUSIADAS

## DE LUIS DE

### CAMOËS

#### Canto primeiro.



A rmas, & os barões assi-  
nalados,  
Que da Occidental praya Lu-  
sitana,  
Por mares nunca de antes na-  
uegados,

Passaram, ainda alem da Taprobana,  
Em perigos, & guerras esforçados,  
Mais do que prometia a força humana,  
E entre gente remota edificarão  
Novo Reino, que tanto sublimarão.

E tambem as memorias gloriosas  
Daquelles Reis, que forão dilatando  
A Fee, o Imperio, & as terras viciosas  
De Affrica, & de Asia, andarão deuastado,  
E aquelles que por obras valerosas  
Se vão da ley da Morte libertando.  
Cantando espalharey por toda parte,  
Se a tanto me ajudar o engenho & arte.

A Cessam





The focus of a great deal of the intellectual activity of tenth-century Spain was upon the translation of works. The main languages were Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic, but the translators also worked with Persian, Syriac, Indic, Hellenic, Berber, and Basque, as well as, of course, Castilian (Roman). Nor were language and religion always matched, as crossovers of every kind were common. Two groups were so numerous that they received specific labels: the *mudéjares* were Moors who spoke Spanish and lived among Christians; the *mozárabes* were Christians who spoke Arabic and lived among Moors. The translators worked in pairs, sitting together on the same bench. Most frequently one was a Jew, for members of this ethnic group tended to be multilingual, and the other an Arab or a Christian. Thus we have avowed enemies as friends and coworkers and, not infrequently, as relatives as well. Such connections existed in all classes: eleventh-century King Alfonso VI married first a Moor and then a French woman. With reason, Calvo Sotelo wonders how many words, how many phrases, how many turns of speech of unknown origin float through the Spanish language today as the only survivals of those almost mythological periods; and not only through Spanish, since the period of the great translation centers of Toledo and Córdoba influenced the whole of European-Western intellectual life.

Spain was the conduit whereby the Greek and Latin works of Plato and Aristotle reached Europe. The single work of Aristotle that most shook the whole of Christian Europe was a Latin translation of a Hebrew rendition of an Arabic commentary on an Arabic translation of a Syriac translation of a Greek original launched to the then-known world by a Spanish Arab. The name of the Spanish commentator was ibn-Rushd, better known as Averroës. Some of our most basic philosophical notions, such as the essence-existence distinction, are a result of the translation tradition through which Europe first received the ancient knowledge. Scholars depended heavily on multilingual-multicultural Spain, and those who were worth listening to had first studied in that country and then developed careers elsewhere.

After the second half of the tenth century, works in Spanish multiplied rapidly, most repre-

senting translations. Early literary works are usually cited as beginning around the middle of the eleventh century. By the thirteenth, Alfonso X, "the Wise," had made Spanish the official literary vehicle for his subjects, and proceeded to set an example by producing magnificent poetry he himself wrote, and by writing the laws of the Kingdom in Spanish. However, he also hired translators on an impressive scale to render the literary and scientific works of the day, Hebrew or Moorish, in the vernacular for the benefit of the average citizen. Such acts have to be acknowledged as truly extraordinary when we consider that the rest of Europe did not even conceive of anything like universal literacy until many centuries later. Spain, however, appears to have had no Dark Age. From everything I can glean by reading original sources from the period, Alfonso X really meant universal literacy—he gives examples of literate servants, describes in detail books for women, and makes it a law that a guardian will be responsible for what today we would call elementary education. The works he had translated were certainly the type that a general populace would enjoy, like the *Book of Calila and Digna*—originally in Indic through Arabic, into Spanish, and then into Latin. It contains many entertaining stories, such as the tale of the milkmaid—so common in our children's books—although in this early version the milkmaid was originally a lad. There were even books on games which women as well as men were expected to play. At the same time, the Arabs in Spain were also encouraging universal education, and their history is sprinkled with accounts of accomplished women, like the great poet Walladah. In fact, the legal position of women in Spain for most of the first millennium of the life of the Spanish language was better than that of the women of Anglo-Germanic Europe—community property, for example, is a Spanish invention. Be it underscored that in Spain these laws were available for the populace to read in their own language.

Halfway through the first millennium came the fateful year of 1492, a watershed, both an end and a beginning—the end of the multilingual-multicultural peninsula, and the beginning of the multilingual-multicultural contact of Spanish with the rest of the world, under the initial sponsorship of Queen Isabella and her

husband Ferdinand. On January 2, 1492, the Moors were finally expelled when the Spanish took Granada. On March 30, 1492, came the edict of the expulsion of the Sephardic Jews, ordering them to be gone from Spain by July 1 or be baptized. With these two events, the intellectual richness of multicultural-multilingual Spain ended, and, though a century or so in coming, the inevitable slide down to the stagnation that homogeneity brings began. A monolingual-monocultural, one-religion Spain suffered the further indignity of having its history rewritten by its foreign enemies (like the English), abetted by some of its own Castilian-centered folk, with the result that the accomplishments of the first half-millennium of Spain's language and history were written out. Clearly, Spain never was as homogeneous as the government pretended (not unlike the case of the United States in the last century or so, particularly with regard to Spanish), and the non-Castilian speakers of the Iberian Peninsula are today being heard more loudly than for many centuries.

But to continue with that fateful year of 1492. On August 3, Columbus set sail. On August 18, Elio Antonio Martinez de Nebrija (or Lebrija) presented his grammar to Queen Isabella, and Spanish became the first modern European language to be committed to grammar—or art, as the words were used synonymously in that period. One of the justifications that Nebrija uses is the earlier work of Alfonso X. Of Christian and Hebrew ancestry, Nebrija was a Latin scholar and is credited with being the first to see the specific relationship between Latin and Iberian Romance and to describe explicitly the development of Spanish from Latin. Some have gone so far as to credit him with being the architect of the Castilian language. More realistically, it could be said that he did a superb job of describing it. Although the book itself was not reedited, it was plagiarized, even to the very examples, some of which remain in student books used today. He wrote this grammar for three reasons, which are stated clearly in his introduction: to keep Castilian as it was then and, consequently, to keep the literary works and historical accounts understandable; to make it easier to learn Latin, which he claims would be

ARTE  
Y GRAMMATICA  
M V Y COPIOSA  
DE LA LENGVA  
A Y M A R A.

*Con muchos, y varios modos de hablar para su  
mayor declaracion, con la tabla de los  
capitulos, y cosas que en ella  
se contienen. &c.*

Compuesta por el P. Ludouico Bertonio Romano de  
la compania de Iesus en la Prouincia del  
Piru, dela India Occidental.



En Roma por Luis Zammetti Año de 1603.

*Con Licencia de los Superiores.*

the case for Castilian speakers after reading his grammar; and, most astounding of all to the modern reader, addressing himself to Queen Isabella, so that "after your Highness has placed under your yoke many barbarous peoples of foreign tongues; and with the conquering comes the necessity of receiving laws: that the conqueror puts on the conquered and with them our language: then with this my grammar could they come into the knowledge of it as now we learn Latin with a Latin grammar."

On October 12, 1492, Columbus landed in America, and thus began the fall of the empires of the Americas. It could be said that this was a repetition of the fall of Spain itself to Moorish invasion in 711, which led to a sudden and unaccountable collapse. And, as on the peninsula, conquered and conqueror became inextricably bound, however much they denied it, maintaining only the form of difference. In many of the countries of Latin America, there is barely a person who can claim to have only Indian or

De la manera que el varón llama a los varones  
sus parientes. dñt. 1. 8. 1.

Tunu achachika	la cepa
Achachikana achachika	cuñelo de mi cuñelo, ota
	tarañuelo
Auguichana achachika	bisñuelo
Achachika	cuñelo
Auguicha	Padre
Yocacha	hijo
Yocana yocopa	nieto
Yocana yocpana yocopa	bisnieto

**Y** Ellos son los ascendientes, y descendientes en línea recta, a los colaterales o a los parientes varones de la línea tranversal llaman en la manera siguiente.

	Parientes colaterales.
Achachika	hermano de mi cuñelo
auguicha	Tío hermano de mi Padre
laricha	Tío hermano de mi madre
tsilacha	hermano mayor o primo
tsilacha	hermana menor o primo
yocacha	sobrino hijo de mis hermanos
haquiricha	sobrino hijo de mis hermanas.

De la manera que el varón llama a los muje-  
res sus parientes. 8. 2.

Tunu apachika	la cepa
---------------	---------

303-

apachikana apachika	Tatarauñela
tsayachana apachika	Bisauñela
Apachika	Auñela
Tayachika	madre
Puchacha	hija
Puchachana puchacha	nieta
Puchachana allichika	bisnieta

Y estas son las parientes ascendientes y descendientes en línea recta.

#### Parientes Colaterales.

Apachika	hermano de mi auñela
Tsayacha	Tía, hermana de mi madre
tsilacha	hermana mayor o prima
tsilacha	hermana menor, o prima
yachika	Tía, hermana de mi Pad. o auñelo
Puchacha	prima hija de mis hermanos
haquiricha	prima hija de mis hermanas.

De la manera que la mujer llama a los mu-  
jeres sus parientes. 8. 3.

**L**A mujer llama a las mujeres sus parientes, como dijimos que el varón las llama en el 2. 8. deste cap. excepto que a las hijas de sus hermanas las llama puchacha, y a las hijas de sus hermanos las llama yachachika, y a las nietas tsichacha.

De la

Spanish ancestry, though Indian and Spanish remain as social classes. The census definition of Indian in Peru is one who speaks no Spanish, has braided hair, and wears the adaptations of seventeenth-century Spanish clothing that today pass for native. Note that the principal attribute is language, making it possible for full siblings to belong to different "races"—not unlike old Spain itself.

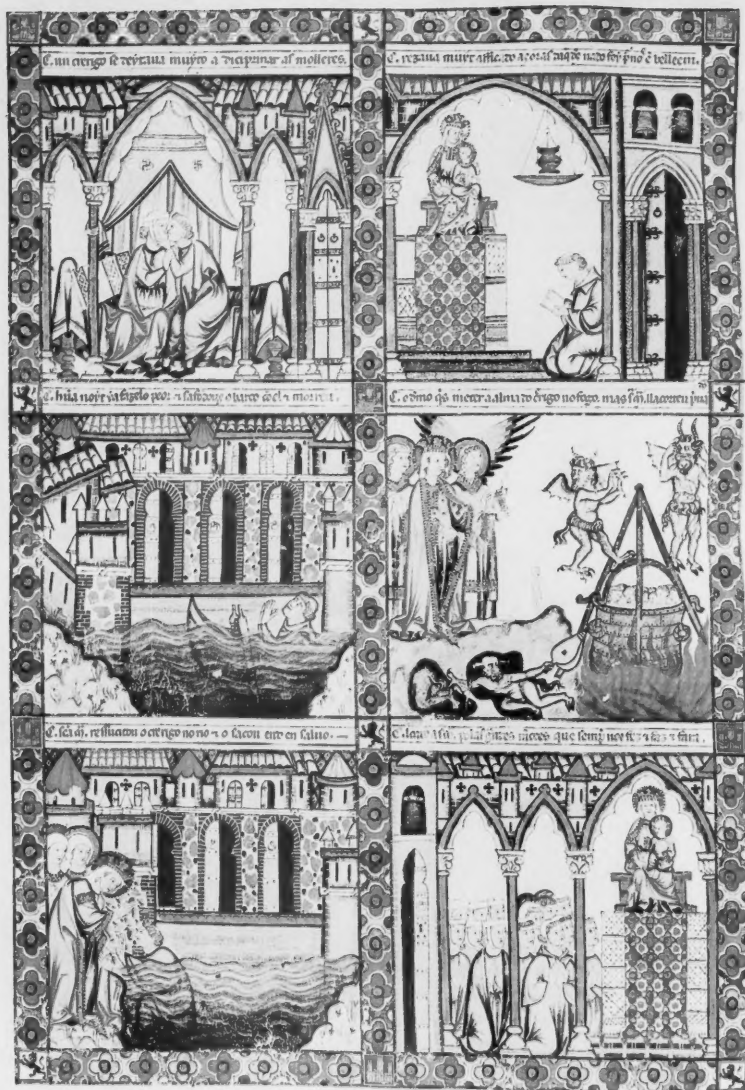
The spread of Spanish throughout the rest of the world—the Americas, the Philippines, and all the places where it was carried by the Sephardim (Turkey, the Near East, and then worldwide)—was accomplished much as was the spread of Castilian through the peninsula—by force, learning, trade, and religion. Hideous atrocities were committed as Spanish and certain facets of Spanish culture were forced on people. There was also much care and heroism exhibited in the recognition of the values others held. Some have tried to attribute the first to soldiers and the second to priests, but the picture is not so

The need to proselytize in the indigenous languages of America prompted the Spanish to compile grammars and dictionaries of these languages. The original copy of this Aymara grammar was printed in Rome in 1603. However, these pages are from a hand-copied version produced later.

clear at all. Some soldiers escaped the military and became cultural natives, whereas some priests were among the worst exploiters—figures feared even today in many places and believed to be a sign of bad luck. Much more important was the immediate *mestizaje*, which meant generations growing up bilingual, speaking both mother's language and father's language—a

#### FOLLOWING PAGES:

These two pages are from "El Codice rico de las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio," which contains 400 cantigas set to music and richly illustrated. While convention demanded that they be in Gallego, the poems are a fundamental component of the Spanish literary heritage. Copyright © 1979 by Edilán, S.A.





**E**sta e como santa m giron  
 lina naue q ja carregada te  
 migo q non paxse: i laou  
 a en saluo ao porto.

**N**as cotas de uem  
 a uirgen estrela to mar.  
 uemos chamar a uir

gen estrela to mar.

**E**sta e santa maria

que aos seus noit eua

guarda te mal os gusa.

pris sille nan en comedax

nas cotas de uem cha.  
 a uirgen estrela to mar.

omo fez hua regata  
 tua nauen carregada.  
 te migo i te e enata  
 te colhur q foi greax.

nas cotas de uem chamir  
 a uirgen estrela to mar  
 ue ouuem paxpura  
 fecer de nos paxpura.  
 se non pola sã auita.  
 que a qsen saluo guar

nas cotas de uem chamar  
 a uirgen estrela to mar.  
 a ouuera tal tormento  
 que te nullas setenta

contra. ou o yracenta  
 querimto a nana fozar  
 nas cotas de uem chamar

a uirgen estrela to mar  
 a o casto foi bruto  
 i o remon paxpura.

os ra xau se gero  
 sayron en por escapuz.  
 nas cotas de uem chamar

a uirgen estrela to mar  
 nos bates a gran pa.  
 ca mren a xau chca  
 vagua uolta con aia.

i aquel pan rto mollar  
 nas cotas de uem chamar  
 a uirgen estrela to mar.

sto foi conta mui certa.  
 ca a xau era aberta.  
 i por cme guim ofera  
 pxiematen em d'avar.

nas cotas de uem chamar  
 a uirgen estrela to mar.  
 a uirgen que rogasse  
 seu filio qdelle gressse

seu pan i que os facasse  
 en saluo seu peca fillar.  
 nas cotas de uem chamar

a uirgen estrela to mar.  
 non mui toste remaron  
 rda nane salongam i  
 i a o paxpura chgiam

u a mren sãa eilas.  
 nas cotas de uem chamar  
 a uirgen estrela to mar.  
 non seu pan circun  
 por que fozen ia luro.

i a uirgen pax muto  
 comegam log a loaz.  
 nas cotas de uem chamar  
 a uirgen estrela to mar.

clear conduit for the continued evolution and creativity of the Spanish language. One of the earliest writers, Garcilaso de la Vega El Inca, has left us a rich heritage. Born in 1539, only seven years after Pizarro first set foot in Peru, the son of a Spanish conqueror and an Inca, he wrote in his father's language of his mother's people in his famous *Comentarios Reales*.

So close was the contact between conquered

and conqueror that not only were words borrowed, but even grammatical patterns were affected. The case of the Spanish of the Andes is particularly interesting, affecting mostly the countries of Peru and Bolivia, but also extending up into Ecuador, down into Argentina, and over into Chile.

Until only some two generations ago, the cities of Cuzco and La Paz remained bilingual for the elite, those who considered themselves Spanish, but monolingual for those still considered Indian. The spread of Spanish as a language, Nebrija's recommendations and the Crown's edicts notwithstanding, was attended by a great deal of ambivalence. Controlling language was one means of controlling populations not at all willing to be serfs for the Spanish. What this meant for the Spanish language was that the children in Hispanic households grew up with two native languages, since it was necessary for the overlords to speak the native language and since the nannies were almost exclusively drawn from the native groups. One Andean grammatical category, widespread in the languages of the area, is that of data source—that is, where do you get the information you are asserting in the sentence. In the spirit of an ever-evolving language coping with its circumstances, the Spanish of the Andes has adjusted its grammar to accommodate this much-needed category. So the local ordinary preterite is now a "personal knowledge" form, to be used when one has actually witnessed an event, but the pluperfect is used for nonpersonal knowledge, that is, when you learn the information through language, by inference, or by surprise. This is truly a new variety of Spanish.

Spanish was the first European language brought to the shores of the Americas, although Columbus did have an Arabic translator with him. To this day, Spanish remains an important language within the United States, most of which was at one time officially Spanish-speaking, if one considers the land taken from Mexico in the Mexican War. Before there was English west of the Mississippi, there was Spanish. The history of Spanish in the United States is an important chapter in the history of the Spanish language itself—and an important one for the English language as well. The varie-

## A GLOBAL GLOSSARY

Origin	Spanish	English
Arabic	alfalfa	alfalfa ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Arabic	adobe	adobe ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Arabic	jerez	sherry ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Arabic	alaja	jewel
Arawak	maiz	maize ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Aymara	yapar	add a little gift, a lagniappe ( <i>from Spanish through French</i> )
Bantu	motete	belongings, junk
Basque	pizarra	slate
Basque	vega	wooded area by river
Carib	canoa	canoe ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Celtic	berro	watercress
English	mitin	political meeting
English	cabús	caboose ( <i>from Spanish</i> acabóse)
French	mensaje	message
French	jaula	cage
Germanic	jabon	soap
Guarani	tapioca	tapioca ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Hebrew	malsin	stool pigeon
Hindi	ponche	punch
Mapuche	poncho	blanket-cloak, poncho ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Nahuatl	tomate	tomato ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Provençal	fraile	friar
Quechua	pampa	low plain
Quechua	puna	high plain
Quechua	charqui	jerky meat ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Tupi-Guarani	tapir	tapir ( <i>from Spanish</i> )
Visigoth	orgullo	pride

ties spoken in places like New Mexico come directly from old Spain; their full history has been, and continues to be, played out within the confines of what is today the United States. Great American linguists, like Aurelio Espinoza, Spanish-speaking by birth, have devoted their professional lives to studying the mutual impact in the multilingual-multicultural Southwest.<sup>6</sup> These native varieties of Southwestern Spanish are joined today, of course, by those spoken in such cities as New York and Los Angeles, which in terms of numbers are major Spanish-speaking cities on a world scale.

Just as Spanish has taken English elements and native elements from the American languages, so also has it taken on elements that were brought here by other, less willing immigrants to the Americas, those from Africa, as detailed by the Colombian scholar, Nicolás del Castillo Mathieu. The impact from Africa has been most keenly felt in the circum-Caribbean area, but in no place has it been absent.

The great writers of the Spanish language have collected their material from all corners of the world, even beyond their own awareness. It could hardly be otherwise, for in its first half millennium the Spanish language became a world language, drawing its own resources from Europe, through Arabia from the East, and then, in the second five hundred years, from sub-Saharan Africa and from the Americas. There are those who would separate the history of Spanish in Spain from that of Spanish in the Americas, but I would agree with the Mexican writer, Antonio Alatorre, that this is a forced distinction. Santa Teresa de Jesús in Spain and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz in Mexico, writing only a century apart, were sisters in spirit and in literature if not in national identification. For those of us who look in from the outside, both are equally inspiring and pay equal tribute to the Spanish language's ability to evoke the best.

As Calvo Sotelo has remarked, language is subject to a daily plebiscite, a referendum by an electoral body that is multitudinous and diffuse and that dictates its judgements to raise or bury words according to its own secret laws and its no less authoritarian whims. The result of the plebiscite on Spanish is that it will embrace the world, and do so with *orgullo*—the quintessential Spanish pride—an importation from the

Visigoths. Much of the gold that shines in the Spanish language today first shone elsewhere, and has been taken over and so reworked in the Spanish smithy that even the original owners might not recognize it, so Spanish has it become.

Thus, the history of the Spanish language, for one thousand and one years, appears to us not unlike the fantasy of the One Thousand and One Nights—something of magic, sprung from a few hesitant crib notes made by some uncertain student coping with a by then foreign tongue and grown from those humble beginnings to a current diversity and grandeur enjoyed by few languages of the world.

#### NOTES

1. The Library's Hispanic Division was host on October 13, 1981, at a major symposium on the history and diffusion of Spanish, in commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of that language. The following six speakers addressed an audience of nearly 250 persons gathered in the Coolidge Auditorium: Antonio Alatorre of the Colegio de México; Joaquín Calvo Sotelo of the Real Academia de la Lengua Española; Lindley Cintra of the University of Lisbon; Nicolás del Castillo of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo of Bogotá, Colombia; Anthony Girard Lozano of the University of Colorado; and M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista of the University of Florida.

2. This refers to the book of the same title—*Mil y un años de la lengua española*—by Antonio Alatorre.

3. The shopping list was referred to by William E. Carter, chief of the Library's Hispanic Division, at the symposium.

4. This was asserted at the symposium, in particular by Lindley Cintra and Joaquín Calvo Sotelo.

5. This was discussed in detail at the symposium by Antonio Alatorre.

6. At the symposium, this was expanded upon by Anthony Girard Lozano.

M. J. HARDMAN-DE-BAUTISTA is Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics and Director of the Aymara Language Materials Program at the University of Florida. Her work on Latin America, with focus on the Andean area, has spanned a quarter of a century. She has written a Jaqaru grammar and, together with Aymara colleagues, an Aymara grammar, as well as other linguistic studies of Andean languages. Much of her work has been in the area of language and culture and has covered such topics as the view of women reflected in Jaqi grammar. She founded and was first director of the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos of the Ministry of Education in Bolivia. Her current research is in the area of reconstruction of the linguistic prehistory of the Andes.

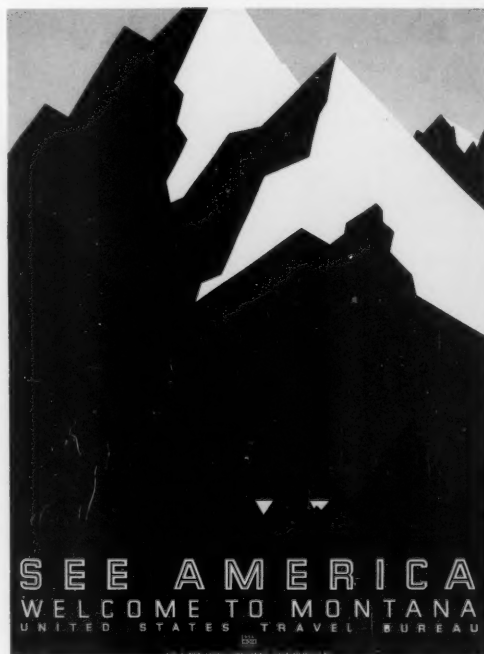
# Amassing “Stuff” American

## The Library of Congress and the Federal Arts Projects of the 1930s

BY JOHN Y. COLE

**A**mericans have always been uneasy about the relationship of their government to culture and the creative spirit. We have no central ministry of art or culture, nor does anyone advocate one. Direct government support to scientists, artists, and scholars is a phenomenon of the mid-twentieth century. Moreover, the relatively small amount of money granted each year to artists, scholars, and cultural institutions through the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities is distributed carefully and almost begrudgingly. But in fact the U.S. government, through institutions such as the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Department of the Interior, has a long and proud history as a supporter of the arts and sciences. The story of the Library of Congress and the federal arts projects of the 1930s reflects the ambiguity of the relationship between the U.S. government and the arts. It is more significant, however, as a case study of how one government agency, taking advantage of tradition, circumstance, outside help, and a healthy dose of luck, has contributed substantially to American culture.

Although it never has been officially designated the American national library, by law and by tradition the Library of Congress has become the official repository for much of our nation's recorded culture. The laws that transformed the Library of Congress from a legislative institution into the nation's foremost accumulator of



A travel poster produced by the WPA Art Project in New York City for the U.S. Travel Bureau. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

The purpose of the Historical Records Survey (HRS) was to inventory and describe county records, not an easy task in many places. *National Archives and Records Service.*





THE UNITED STATES' FIRST  
FOREIGN  
TRADE  
ZONE

STATEN ISLAND · CITY OF NEW YORK  
OPENED FEBRUARY 1, 1937

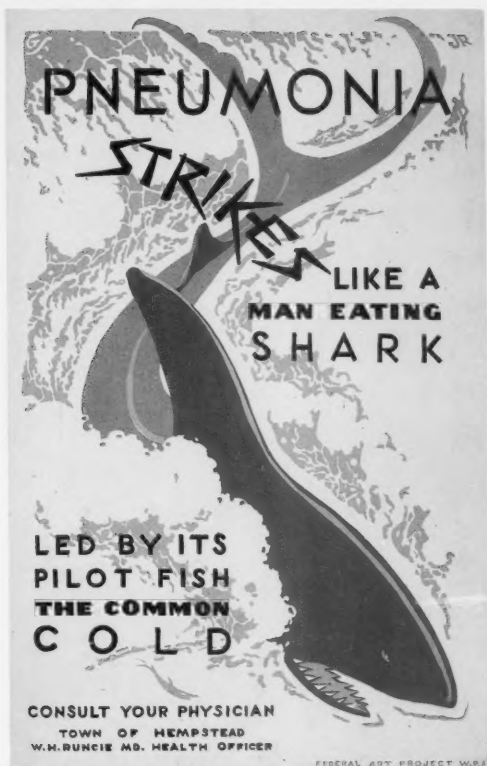


F.H. LAGUARDIA  
MAYOR

CITY OF NEW YORK  
DEPARTMENT OF DOCKS

JOHN MCKENZIE  
COMMISSIONER

This striking poster was produced by the Federal Art Project. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*



Pneumonia Strikes

printed Americana were passed in the years immediately after the Civil War. First came the copyright laws of 1865, 1867, and especially the law of 1870, which brought two copies of every copyrighted book, pamphlet, map, print, photograph, and piece of music into the Library—without cost to the Library. The institution's role as the library of the American government was greatly strengthened when it acquired, by official transfer in 1866, the forty-thousand-volume library of the Smithsonian Institution. Then the next year it was designated the U.S. depository for documents received through the international exchange system. The first major congressional appropriation for the purchase of an Americana collection came in 1867 when Librarian of Congress Ainsworth Rand Spofford persuaded Congress to spend \$100,000 for the personal library of archivist and collector Peter Force. By 1870, thanks to the copyright laws

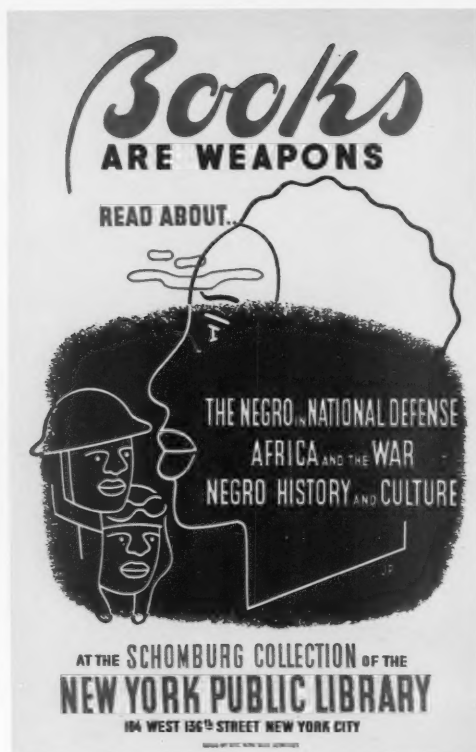


John Is Not Really Dull

Health was a popular subject for Federal Art Project posters, many of which are forerunners of today's public service advertisements. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

and the acquisition of the Smithsonian and Force libraries, the Library of Congress was both the principal government library and the largest library in the United States.

In a maturing nation, precedents such as these have a momentum of their own—especially when they take place in a period of rapid growth and prosperity. In 1897, long after it had run out of shelf space, the Library of Congress moved out of the U.S. Capitol and into its own building, a monumental structure on Capitol Hill that itself symbolized American cultural aspirations. Six years later President Theodore Roosevelt made the Library of Congress the repository of the personal and official papers



War, national defense, and national cultural unity became popular subjects for Federal Art Project posters after Pearl Harbor. The Federal Art Project was ended in mid-1943. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

of the Founding Fathers. In 1923 the Library became the home of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. Soon thereafter gifts from private donors enabled the Library of Congress to become a sponsor of cultural activities as well as a repository of national cultural documents: it recorded and collected American folksongs and folklore, sponsored chamber music concerts, commissioned new musical works, and hired prominent scholars to help "interpret" its collections to the public. The Great Depression momentarily halted its growth, but once the work relief programs inaugurated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt were expanded to include cultural projects, the Library of Congress took on a new

and important role. On the strength of its unparalleled Americana collections and the momentum of its recent successes in cultural entrepreneurship, it became the key agency for organizing and preserving the cultural record of depression-era America.

### *The First Relief Projects*

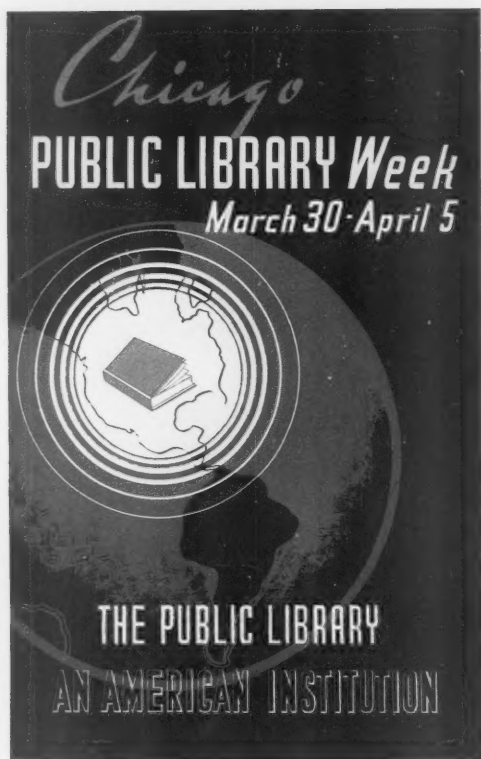
Under the leadership of Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's "minister of relief," aid to America's unemployed began in mid-1933, only months after the new administration took office. Between 1933 and 1935, when much of the New Deal relief administration was consolidated under the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Library of Congress was quick to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the new programs, usually because of initiatives seized by individual division chiefs. For example, in 1933 Leicester B. Holland, chief of the Division of Fine Arts, saw to it that the Library was designated as the repository of the records produced by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), a work relief project started under the Civil Works Administration (CWA). George F. Schwegmann, director of the Library's Union Catalog Project, served as an adviser to many relief projects, and made certain that the collections and catalogs of the Library of Congress benefited from those projects whenever possible.

With support from Librarian of Congress Herbert Putnam, individual chiefs also applied for and received financial help for processing and indexing the collections in their custody. Characteristically the funding was tentative, with employees being added and dropped on short notice, so administrators had to move quickly. A project to update an index to portraits in periodicals that was published in 1906 by the Library of Congress for the American Library Association is a good example. Using Civil

The Treasury Department's Relief Art Program, funded by the WPA, decorated federal buildings with murals and sculpture. This mural artist is working in New York City. *National Archives and Records Service.*







Chicago's Public Library Week was a forerunner of today's National Library Week. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

Works Administration funds, the project was started in the Fine Arts Division in late 1933 with twenty-three part-time workers. By January 24, 1934, the project employed fifty-one indexers, but on February 16 the staff was cut by 50 percent, and then it was cut by 10 percent each week until all work ceased on May 1. Nevertheless, over 140,000 index cards were prepared during this period, making the index a valuable tool that, suitably updated, is available today to researchers in the Prints and Photographs Division. Another useful WPA index, also available to researchers in the same division, is a card index to early American architectural illustrations, compiled by six workers on loan from the Department of Interior.

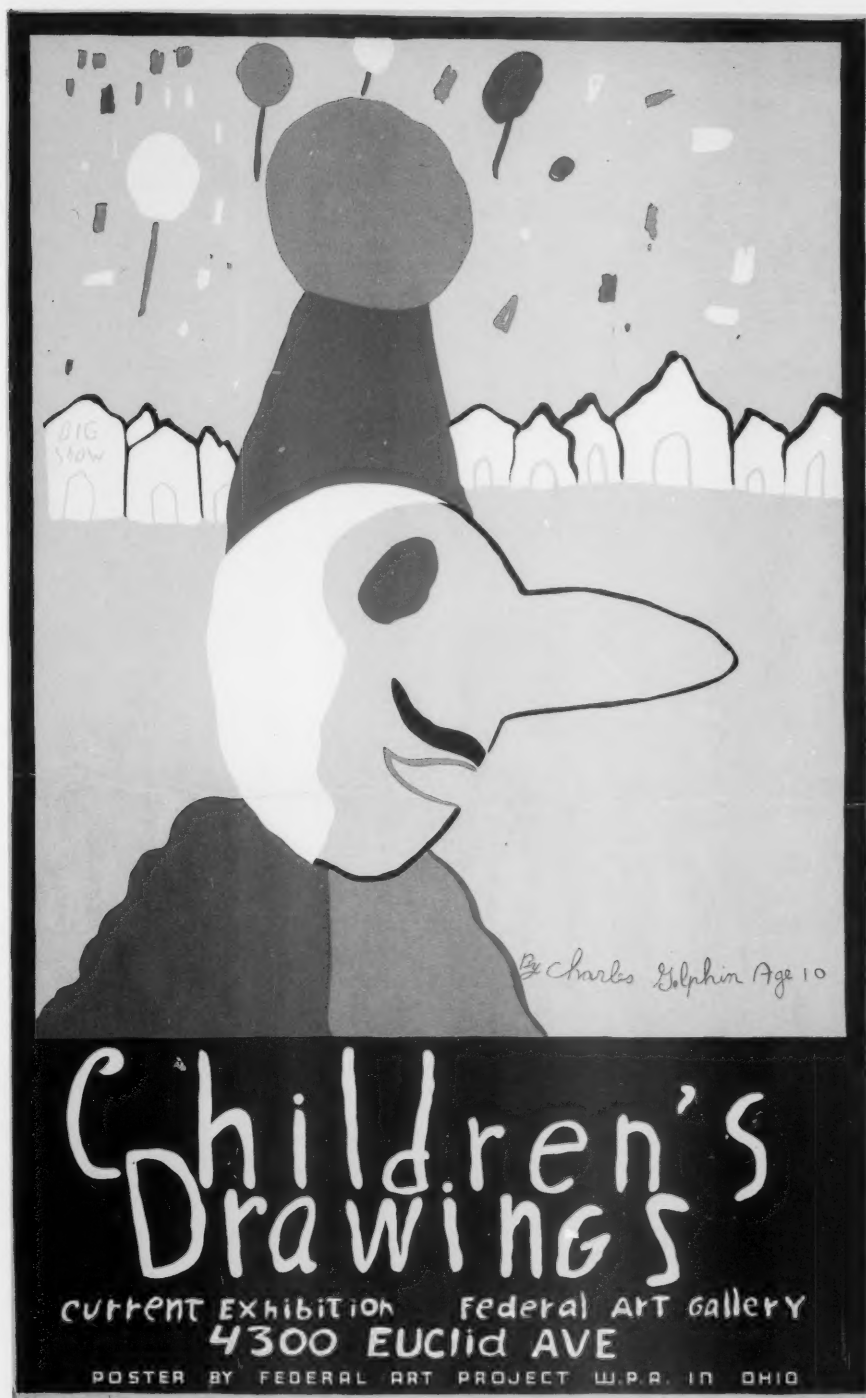
Other Library of Congress divisions benefited as well. Several Civil Works Administration

workers assisted in sorting periodicals and other publications in the Smithsonian deposit, the basis of the Library's rapidly growing science collection. In the Map Division a grant during 1934 from the administration enabled one Rebecca M. Taliaferro to catalog 655 of the Library's Civil War maps. In 1935 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) provided funds for a project that would transcribe books into braille, an effort that was continued under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration and strengthened the collections of the Library's Project for Books for the Adult Blind. Furthermore, in 1936 the New York WPA began constructing talking-book phonographs for use by the Library of Congress. By 1942, when the project ended, over twenty-three thousand talking-book machines had been made.

The Law Library provides a final example of early relief assistance to the Library of Congress and of the erratic nature of that help. In 1934 FERA provided the Law Library with eighty part-time workers to help inventory and process collections, prepare want lists, and index court records. In 1935 the size of the staff was cut to twenty-nine, and then the project was halted altogether at the end of the year. Three years later, fifty relief workers were assigned to the Law Library to resume the work and take on the new task of starting an "index on constitutional law." By the end of the year the temporary help had disappeared, but the work has since been carried out by the Law Library staff.

The funds squeezed out of the Civil Works and Federal Emergency Relief Administrations for cultural projects were relatively meager, however, for neither of these agencies emphasized relief for unemployed white collar workers or support for the arts, even though a small project within the CWA, the Public Works of Art Project, did employ over three thousand artists. But in the spring of 1935 the Works Progress Administration was created, and it clearly provided for aid to white collar or "professional persons." The WPA, a massive effort to provide "socially useful" work for over 3.5

Charles Golphin, age 10, drew this poster illustration for an exhibition of children's art in Ohio. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*





The Federal Art Project sponsored work in all the major visual art fields. This print by Doris Spiegel is titled *Selling Candles*. *Fine Prints Collection, Prints and Photographs Division*.

million "employables," absorbed the FERA (which had already absorbed much of the CWA) and included funds specifically for unemployed artists, musicians, actors, and writers. The four projects aimed at these groups were designated Federal Project Number One (and referred to as Federal One), and four national directors were chosen. Holger Cahill directed the Federal Art Project (FAP), Nikolai Sokoloff the Federal Music Project (FMP), Hallie Flanagan the Federal Theatre Project (FTP), and Harry G. Alsberg the Federal Writers' Project (FWP). In October 1936 the Historical Records Survey (HRS), formerly part of the writers' project, became an independent project under Federal One, and its director, Luther H. Evans, joined this remarkable group of individualistic national "cultural directors." The five national projects of Federal One, which existed alongside less glamorous state-sponsored projects, soon caught



Yasuo Kuniyoski's *The Tight-Rope Walker* was produced while the artist was employed by the New York City Federal Art Project. *Fine Prints Collection, Prints and Photographs Division*.

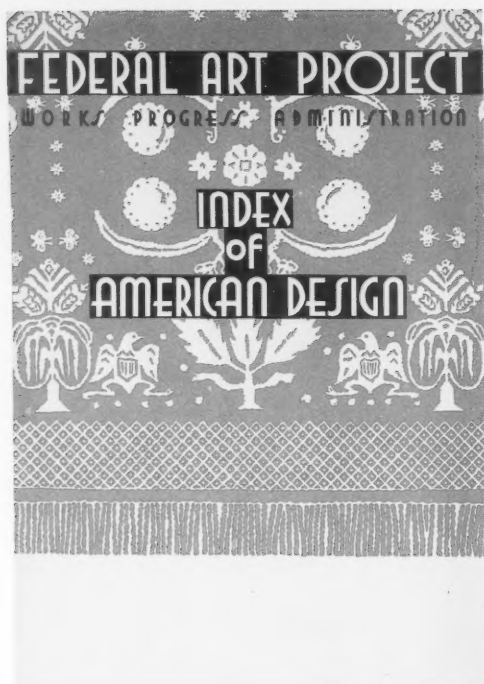
the public's imagination and in the process helped create a new audience for the arts. In *Fortune* magazine in May 1937, writer and poet Archibald MacLeish noted that these national projects also piled up "the kind of raw cultural material—the raw material of new creative work—which is so necessary to artists and particularly to artists in a new country."

An especially close link developed between Luther H. Evans's Historical Records Survey and the Library of Congress. Between 1936 and 1940 the survey furnished the Library of Congress with historians to help prepare card indexes to major manuscript collections, including the papers of several presidents of the United States. And a Russian scholar supported by the HRS

*Pugnacity*, a work Raphael Soyer did when he was a WPA artist. *Fine Prints Collection, Prints and Photographs Division*.







Despite the efforts of Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish, the massive files of the Index of American Design went to the National Gallery of Art instead of the Library of Congress. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

began sorting and translating important documents in the massive collection of Russian Church Archives from Alaska.

Historical Records Survey workers also made important contributions to the national union catalog, located in the Library. Local and state HRS projects became a major source of lists of books, periodicals, and newspapers, all added to this enormous file. In 1937 survey staff began microfilming the shelflists of federal libraries in the District of Columbia. The microfilm, containing 363,000 cards for over six hundred thousand titles, was received by the Union Catalog Project the next year and transcribed onto cards in subsequent years with help from other HRS workers. *Location Symbols for Libraries in the United States*, prepared by the Union Catalog Project with WPA help, was published by the WPA in 1939.

### *Librarian MacLeish and the Library of Congress Project*

The New Deal arts projects were part of a renewed search for national traditions during a troubled decade, and much of the resulting material—the musical compositions, guidebooks, archival surveys, and even many of the theatrical productions—reflected a sense of rediscovery of America's cultural heritage. But the projects also raised broader questions about the relationship between American culture and politics. Could the arts enrich the lives of ordinary citizens? Could creative artists integrate themselves into American society? Was it appropriate or even desirable for the federal government to provide direct support to the arts? These questions were introduced, not resolved, during the 1930s, but the fact that they were seriously debated is one of the reasons why cultural historians are so interested in the New Deal era. In 1939 President Roosevelt appointed his friend and adviser Archibald MacLeish to be Librarian of Congress, an action that ensured the continuation of the debate about government support for the arts and added a new dimension to the relationship between the arts projects and the Library of Congress.

The federal arts projects were on the wane by the time MacLeish was appointed. The honeymoon ended in 1937 when a conservative and increasingly hostile Congress, questioning the need for the projects and the loyalty and efficiency of many project employees, reduced Federal One's appropriation. By 1939 politics, art, and bureaucracy had become hopelessly entwined. On June 30, Congress abolished the Federal Theatre Project, concentrated the administration of the remaining projects in the states, and stipulated that at least one-fourth of the funding come from local sources. As a result, two of the national directors resigned and the WPA administrators in Washington frantically looked for ways to complete their most important projects.

Besides performing music throughout the country and encouraging new musical compositions, the Federal Music Project cataloged musical scores. These copyists are working in Philadelphia. *National Archives and Records Service.*

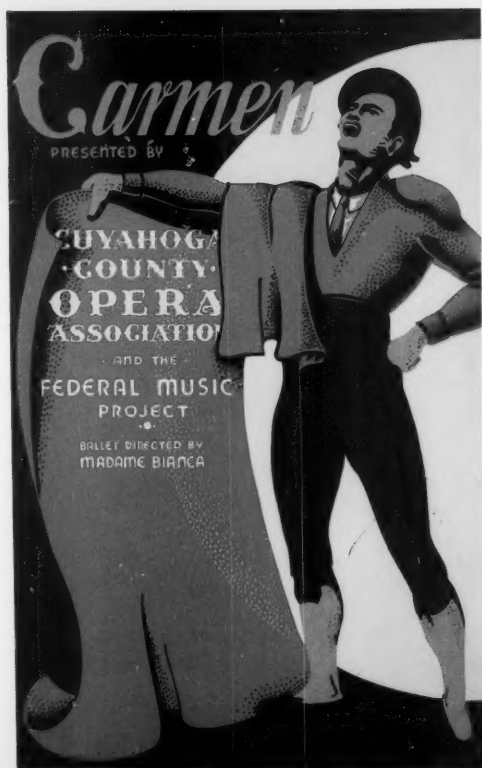




When the Federal Music Project was created, there were fewer than a dozen recognized symphony orchestras in the United States. By the spring of 1938, thirty-four symphony orchestras under the Federal Music Project were employing over twenty-five hundred musicians. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

The Federal Music Project introduced opera to many audiences for the first time. John LaQuatra designed this poster in 1939 for the WPA in Ohio. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

Librarian of Congress MacLeish, a New Dealer with a special appreciation of the value of the arts projects, was receptive to their ideas. In October 1939, shortly after the new Librarian assumed his duties, the Library of Congress Project was established by the District of Columbia Works Projects Administration. Its primary purpose was to edit, index, and make available for use certain materials from Federal One and other WPA cultural projects, but it also continued the national editorial functions







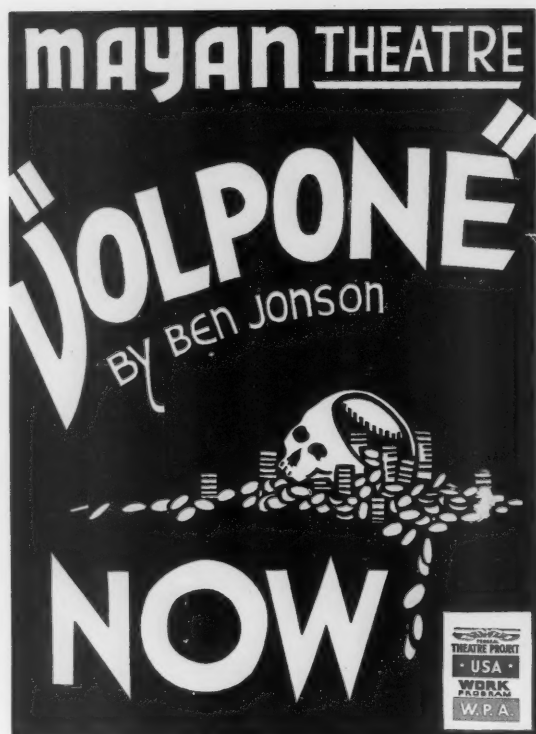
of the Federal Writers' Project and the Historical Records Survey. On December 1, MacLeish hired the former national director of the records survey, Luther H. Evans, to be director of the Library's Legislative Reference Service, and Evans quickly became the Librarian's chief adviser on WPA matters. MacLeish and Evans soon decided that the national editorial work was "not of the first interest to the Library," and successive reorganizations of the Library of Congress Project in February and August 1940 eliminated this function and restricted the project's scope to preparing the material produced by Federal One for addition to the Library's collections. Archibald MacLeish had found a way to preserve the "raw cultural material" he had praised in his 1937 article in *Fortune*.

Convinced that the state programs would wither and that their materials would be lost unless they were sent to Washington, MacLeish and WPA officials arranged for duplicate records from the states to come to the Library of Congress. For the Federal Writers' Project alone,

The Federal Theatre Project, the "People's Theatre," provided something for everyone: circus, vaudeville, musical comedy, classical and contemporary drama, social protest drama, modern dance, children's theater, and traveling troupes of players. Dorothea Lange took this photograph in San Bernardino, California, in February 1932. *Farm Security Administration Collection, Prints and Photographs Division*.

over twenty different categories of materials were requested, ranging from life history interviews to statistical checklists.

There was one major WPA cultural product that evaded MacLeish: the Federal Art Project's Index of American Design, a massive collection of artistic renderings that documented the main types of American decorative art from the colonial period through the Gilded Age. He probably would have acquired it except for a dispute with FAP director Holger Cahill. MacLeish wanted the plates for the Library's collections but felt that their publication was incidental to this purpose. Cahill insisted that



Volpone

Classical and contemporary drama are vividly portrayed in these two posters advertising Federal Theatre Project productions.

publication come first. The result, as detailed in Richard D. McKinzie's book *The New Deal for Artists* (1973), was that in 1943 the Index of American Design went to the National Gallery of Art.

In the fall of 1940, the eighty employees of the Library of Congress Project made rapid progress in sorting and evaluating the materials coming into their possession. Hundreds of WPA publications were added to the Library's classified collections and uncounted numbers of unfinished documents, indexes, and manuscripts were absorbed into specialized research collections. In the Music Division, for example, project staff members worked in several diverse areas. They sorted over 173,000 pieces of music



Night Must Fall

out of the division's huge collection of copyright deposits. They expanded an earlier WPA checklist of recorded songs in the Archive of American Folksong. And they revived work on the Bio-Bibliographical Index of Musicians begun in 1936 by the Historical Records Survey. The index was published in 1941. One project never completed was the Index of American Composers, originally started by the Federal Music Project. Today the twenty thousand typed cards describing compositions by composers whose works were performed by WPA musicians are in the Music Division.

Library officials expected the Library of Congress Project to last at least until December 1941, but in June of that year it appeared that a forthcoming reduction in the District of Columbia's WPA employment might bring it to a sudden halt. On June 18, Acting Librarian of Congress Verner W. Clapp urged WPA officials to continue the project, pointing out that unless the

material was made permanently useful, what had been achieved through investments already made in the state projects would "be almost as valueless as if the original work had not been done." But six days later the Library was informed that the Library of Congress Project would end "at the close of business on Thursday, July 3, 1941."

Although the project was over, the strong interest of the Library of Congress had been established. So had a certain momentum, because for the next five years the creative remnants of Federal One continued to arrive at the Library of Congress—by the truckload. A conservative estimate is that between 1939 and 1941 over five thousand cubic feet of arts projects materials were forwarded to the Library from WPA offices throughout the nation. Material came from all five projects, although only a minimal amount was received from the Federal Art Project.

On October 8–9, 1941, at the request of WPA Commissioner Howard O. Hunter, Librarian MacLeish convened a panel of WPA officials and prominent writers, artists, and musicians at the Library to discuss "the future relationship of the federal government to the practice of the arts" in the United States, with special reference to the WPA arts projects. Museum directors Francis Taylor and John Walker, writers John Steinbeck, Freda Kirchwey, Malcolm Cowley, and Van Wyck Brooks, and musicians Howard Hanson and Roy Harris were among those who attended. Thomas Hart Benton, John Mason Brown, Felix Frankfurter, and Reinhold Niebuhr were invited but could not come. Lewis Mumford declined, even after a second, "begging" letter from MacLeish, because he was unwilling to take time away from "my next big book, which will deal with the higher life of man."

The meeting, as depicted in the records in the Library of Congress Archives, was a difficult one. It often bogged down in debates about the conflicting aspects of the arts projects ("Are we feeding needy artists or creating artistic expression?") and frequently was interrupted by accusations, as when chairman MacLeish charged the WPA administrators with being more interested in their programs than in the artists they employed. But general agreement was reached on seven "beliefs":



The Federal Theatre Project excelled in popular entertainment, and vaudeville was an important part of the show. *Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Collection at George Mason University Libraries, Fairfax, Virginia.*

1. . . . that the government has a relationship and a useful activity toward the artist apart from his ability to eat and work;
2. . . . that there should be a new agency of the government, the purpose of which should be to encourage the arts, literature, and sciences. Such encouragement should be offered by means of subsidies to individuals and tax-exempt institutions and by projects capable of providing work in time of need;
3. . . . that such projects should be judged on the basis of their usefulness to the people of this country;
4. . . . that among useful projects the preference should be given to those which in normal times can be carried on with a small professional and administrative staff, but which can be immediately expanded in times of depression;

5. . . . that the small permanent staff of the projects should be employed on a basis of civil service;
6. . . . that the drying up of private patronage to the arts, largely resulting from increased taxation, makes government help much more essential than in the past;
7. . . . that music depends more on local interest and participation than the other arts, and therefore requires somewhat special treatment, with the emphasis on creating local institutions and extending grants-in-aid to those which exist already.

Two months later the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and the nation's attention turned to more urgent concerns. By 1943 all the state WPA projects had ended. It was not until the 1960s that the question of direct government support for the arts was once again seriously addressed. The federal agencies established as a result—the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities—still face many of the issues that troubled their ancestors, the agencies that administered the federal projects of the 1930s.

### *The Legacy*

**I**n the years following the sudden death of the Library of Congress WPA Project, several reviews and partial inventories of the unprocessed WPA materials took place. The task was complicated because new materials kept arriving, at least for a few years. After each review, additional materials were added to the Library's collections or distributed to other institutions. In 1944, for example, over five hundred cubic feet of administrative records were transferred to the National Archives.

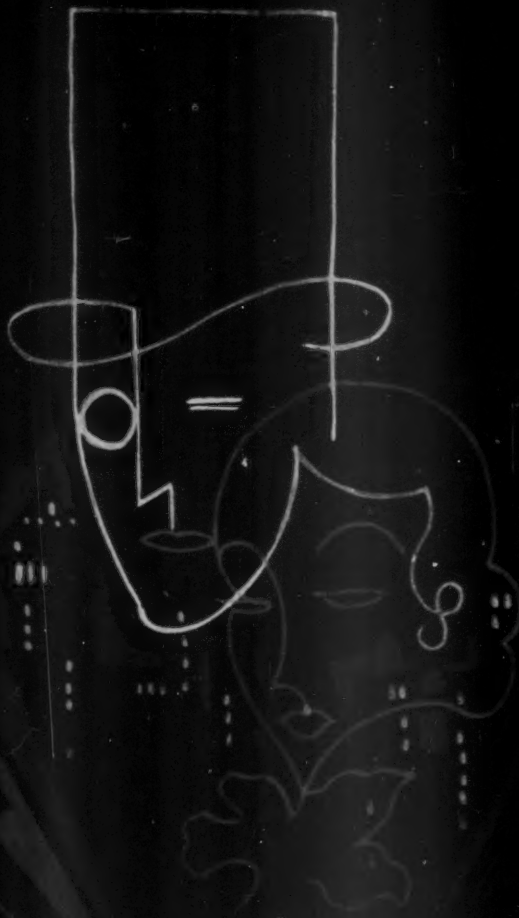
In 1949 Frances T. Bourne of the National Archives surveyed the large collection of unprocessed WPA project materials, then stored on the fourth floor of the Library's Annex Building. She was dismayed, and concluded: "Because of the bulk of this material and its present condition, it appears unlikely that the Library will ever have the time, money, or personnel to finish the processing of this material . . . unless another WPA project is established." Furthermore, since she felt that much of the material was

either of questionable research value or duplicated elsewhere, Miss Bourne recommended "unconditional and immediate destruction" of 958 cubic feet of material, or 63 percent of what she surveyed. Library of Congress officials, led by arts project veterans and division chiefs Harold Spivacke and George Schwegmann, disputed Bourne's conclusions and argued for retention, even if it meant continued storage. Luther H. Evans, the former Historical Records Survey head and assistant to Librarian MacLeish, was by now the Librarian of Congress; to no one's surprise, he agreed with his chiefs.

In the next decade, however, the Library of Congress ran out of space. In 1957 an important precedent was set when L. Quincy Mumford, who succeeded Evans as Librarian of Congress, agreed to deposit a portion of the American Imprints Inventory sponsored by the Historical Records Survey at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. The next year duplicate copies of all WPA publications were distributed to libraries in forty-five states. By 1964 there no longer was adequate space on Capitol Hill for storage and the remaining fifteen hundred cubic feet of WPA arts project materials, primarily from the records survey and theater and writers projects, were stored in a warehouse leased by the Library in Middle River, Maryland, east of Baltimore. The material was unavailable to scholars, a situation Jerre Mangione justly complained about in *The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers' Project, 1935-1943* (1972).

During the past decade the increased interest among scholars in all aspects of the arts projects stimulated the Library to place parts of the remaining collection on permanent deposit at other institutions, most notably Rutgers University Library for the American Imprints Inventory and George Mason University for the Federal Theatre Project collection, and to renew its own efforts to sort, process, and make available all remaining items. The opening of the James Madison Memorial Building in 1980 provided the space necessary to accelerate this effort, and a special project was mounted, albeit on a far smaller scale than any WPA project. In 1980 several of the major WPA collections were described in a new book, *Special Collections in the Library of Congress*. Another publication, *Pick-*





*axe and Pencil: References for the Study of the WPA* (1982), describes the arts projects and lists sources of information about archival collections containing WPA material. Finally, in early 1983, the Library of Congress's renewed effort to complete the sorting and processing of all the federal arts materials in its possession came to a successful conclusion.

Brief descriptions of the major WPA arts projects collections at the Library of Congress follow. Other arts project legacies have been left to libraries, historical societies, museums, and government offices throughout our country. It is a remarkable accumulation of "the raw material of new creative work," as Archibald

This sketch for a vaudeville stage set is by scenic designer James Morcom. *Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Collection at George Mason University Libraries, Fairfax, Virginia.*

MacLeish called it, and a heritage that librarians, archivists, and scholars are still discovering and learning to appreciate.

#### WPA PUBLICATIONS IN THE LIBRARY COLLECTIONS

Because of its close connection to the federal arts projects of the 1930s—as participant, sponsor, and repository—the Library of Congress



The children's unit of the Federal Theatre Project pioneered in using adults, rather than children, to act in plays for young audiences. This stage sketch is for *Pinocchio*, one of the most popular productions. *Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Collection at George Mason University Libraries, Fairfax, Virginia.*

has the most comprehensive collection anywhere of publications produced by the WPA and related agencies. In addition to thousands of printed items, the collection includes as many mimeographed items that were cataloged and bound; they are listed in the Library's various catalogs and available through the general reading rooms. This collection of course includes the American Guide Series, the famous state guidebooks that critic Alfred Kazin called a "contemporary epic" and a symbol of the "reawakened American sense of its own history."

#### HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) is the largest and most important architectural collection in the Library's Prints and Photographs Division. It began in 1933 as a work relief project under the Civil Works Administration. Its purposes, according to Leicester B. Holland, chief of the Fine Arts Division, were "to aid unemployed architects and draftsmen and at the same time to produce a detailed record of such early American architecture as was in immediate danger of destruction." Based in part on the precedent of the Pictorial Archives of Early American Architecture, a Library of Congress collection initiated by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation in 1930, HABS received a more permanent status in 1934 under a tripartite agreement signed by the National Park Service, the American Institute of Architects, and the Library of Congress. It continued after that date with funds from the Works

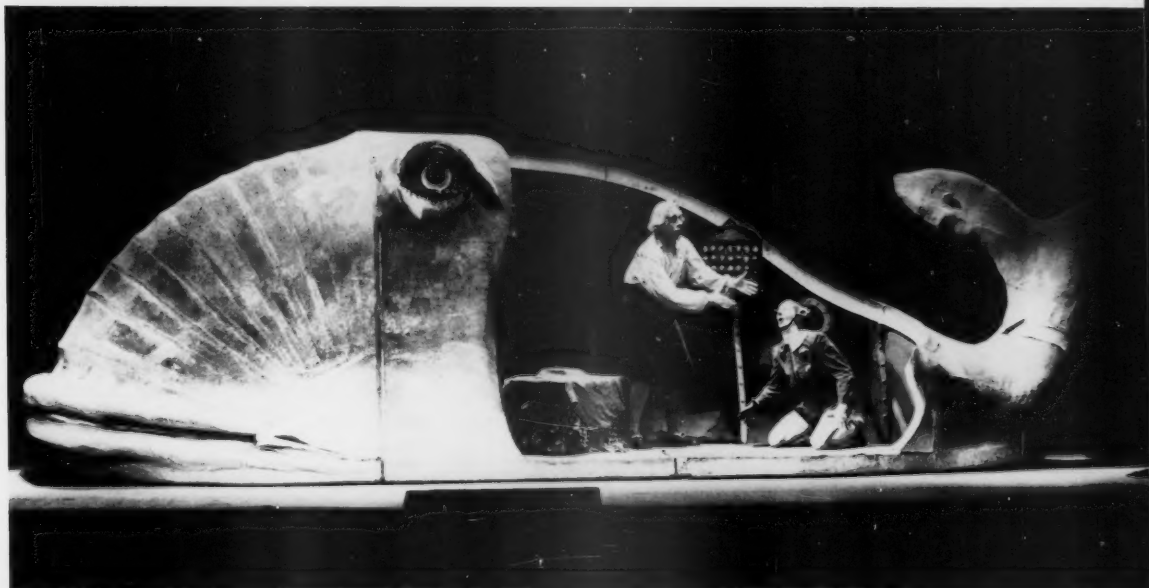


Progress Administration, was discontinued during World War II, and then resumed in a new and expanded form in 1957. Today the collection contains over forty-three thousand measured drawings, seventy-one thousand photographs, and fifty thousand pages of historical and architectural information. Over seventeen thousand structures are documented, including buildings in all fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Various portions of the collection are available in microfilm, printed form, and microfiche.

A collection of architectural photographs, essays, correspondence, and working papers produced by the Art and Architecture Project of the Federal Writers' Project, came to the Library of Congress in 1940. Containing over ten thousand items, it includes architectural

This painting of Gepetto by Robert Sheridan was for the Los Angeles production of Yasha Frank's stage version, first presented at the Beaux Arts Theatre in 1937. *Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Collection at George Mason University Libraries, Fairfax, Virginia.*

Gepetto and Pinocchio on stage, a New York production. *National Archives and Records Service.*





The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) was established in 1933 to aid unemployed architects and produce a detailed record of early American architecture. Here three architects measure the dimensions of the Kentucky School for the Blind in Louisville, Kentucky, in March 1934. *HABS/HAER Collections, Prints and Photographs Division.*

photographs from South Carolina, Ohio, Rhode Island, and other states, drafts for a proposed "Outline of Architecture in the United States," and typescripts of biographies of "noted American architects."

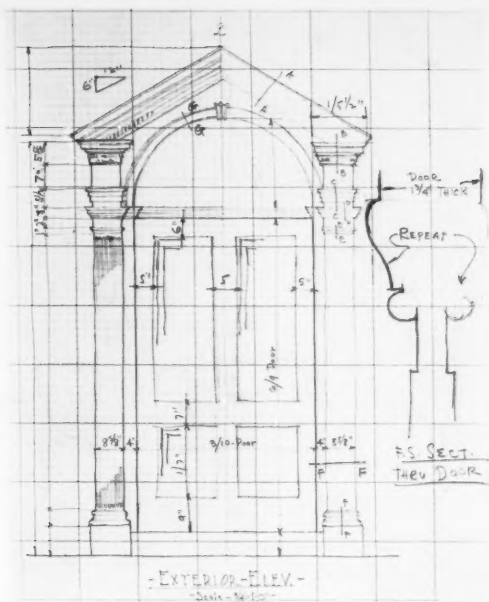
#### EX-SLAVE NARRATIVE COLLECTION

This collection of transcribed interviews with former slaves is one of the best known research collections in the Library of Congress. The interviewing was begun in 1934 in the Ohio River Valley by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and then extended to other areas between 1936 and 1938 by the Federal Writers' Project.

From the beginning the project was closely associated with the Library because John A. Lomax, the chief organizer and the first national WPA adviser on folklore, was also the honorary curator of the Library's Archive of American Folksong (established in 1927). Lomax and his interviewers canvassed no fewer than seventeen states. When the Library of Congress Project was established in 1939, their transcripts and related research files came to the Library. Lomax's successor as folklore consultant to the writers' project, Benjamin A. Botkin, became chief editor in the writers' unit in the Library of Congress Project and saw to it that the narratives were edited, indexed, and added to the collections. By no means all of the ex-slave narratives came to the Library of Congress. Many from Virginia and Georgia, for example, are in repositories in those states.

The Library of Congress's edited collection of over two thousand narratives, which has been microfilmed and published in several editions, is in the Manuscript Division, along with auxiliary research materials. Many anthologies con-





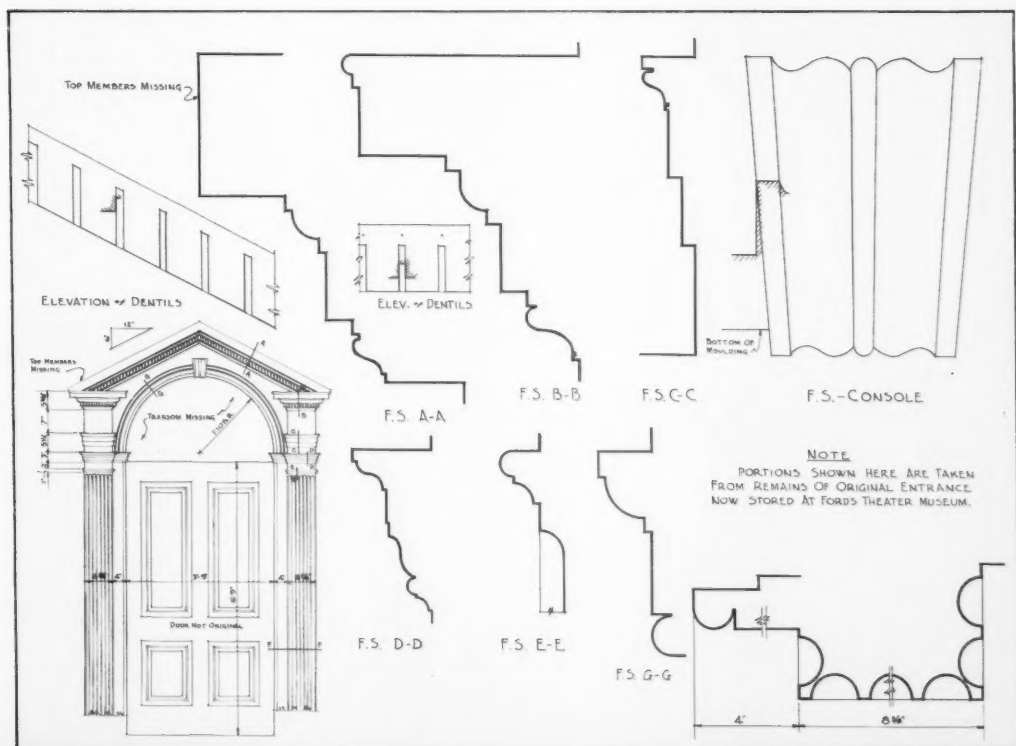
Field Notebook

taining selections from this remarkable and early oral history effort have been published, the first by the Federal Writers' Project itself as *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (1945), edited by Benjamin A. Botkin.

#### FOLKLORE AND SOCIAL-ETHNIC STUDIES

According to Benjamin A. Botkin, no fewer than nine branches of the WPA were involved in collecting American folklore. The WPA collection in the Library's Manuscript Division consists largely of research files, correspondence, and publications from the Federal Writers' Project, divided into three principal groups:

The front entrance of the Francis Scott Key House (now demolished) in Washington, D.C., was drawn for the Historic American Buildings Survey, first sketched in a field notebook and then on the finished sheet as a permanent measured drawing. HABS/HAER Collections, Prints and Photographs Division.



Front entrance details



A HABS photograph of the main street of Weaver-ville, California, March 10, 1934. HABS/HAER Collections, Prints and Photographs Division.

traditional folklore (myths, legends, stories, rhymes, and so on), life histories (first and third person narratives about daily living), and social-ethnic studies. Ann Banks's book *First-Person America* (1980) is based on eighty of the life-history narratives among the 150,000 pages of transcripts in the life-history series. The writers' project started in 1936 primarily to gather material for the state guides, but after 1938 it placed greater emphasis on urban and ethnic studies. Correspondence, studies, field notes, and compilations such as "Bundle of Troubles and Other Tarheel Tales" and a lexicon of trade slang and jargon (with entries for everything from Aero-Manufacturing Workers' slang to Television Workers' jargon) are found in this collection.

The Archive of Folk Song supported the sound-recording activities of the WPA folklore

projects by providing equipment and assuming custody of completed discs. More than half of these discs were produced in 1939 by a special recording project conducted in the southern states under the sponsorship of the WPA's Joint Committee on Folk Arts, headed by Herbert Halpert of the Federal Theatre Project. The extensive California field studies conducted by Sidney Robertson, largely in ethnic and migrant communities from 1938 to 1940, are documented by photographs, field notes, and 237 discs.

#### THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION PHOTOGRAPHS COLLECTION

This unparalleled photographic record of American life between 1935 and 1942, a project of the Farm Security Administration (FSA), is the best known and most heavily used collection in the Prints and Photographs Division. It consists of over 270,000 photographs that document rural conditions, life in urban communities, and the domestic side of the war effort, taken by a gifted team of photographers, headed by Roy E. Stryker, that included Carl Mydans, Walker



A photograph by Roger Sturtevant of a Russian chapel at Fort Ross, Sonoma County, California, taken for the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1934. Such photographs have been used to restore and repair this and other buildings after fire damage or other destruction. *HABS/HAER Collections, Prints and Photographs Division.*



The photographic project of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) resulted in an unparalleled record of American life between 1935 and 1942. Over 270,000 FSA photographs document life in urban communities, rural conditions, and the domestic side of the war effort. This photograph by Marjory Collins was taken in the composing room of the *New York Times*. *Farm Security Administration Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

Evans, Ben Shahn, Dorothea Lange, Arthur Rothstein, Russell Lee, and Jack Delano. Their experience with new forms and techniques, in Stryker's opinion, did "for professional photography what the WPA Theatre was doing for the stage." In the past decade over a dozen major books based on the FSA collection have



The circus comes to Klamath Falls, Oregon. A July 1942 photograph by Russell Lee. *Farm Security Administration Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

J. H. Parhem, barber and notary public, at work in Centralhatchee, Georgia, April 1941. Photograph by Jack Delano. *Farm Security Administration Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

been published, along with a microfiche edition of selected photographs.

In 1942 Stryker's unit became part of the Publications Bureau of the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI), an agency which Archibald MacLeish served as an assistant director while he also was Librarian of Congress. In September 1943, Stryker resigned, but on the first day of 1944, the Library of Congress assumed custody of the FSA photo archive and the rest of the OWI photo file. In the book *In This Proud Land: America 1935-1943*, Nancy Wood quotes Roy Stryker about what happened: "Toward the end, there was strong pressure from the government to destroy the entire file, negatives included. For a time it looked like everything would be lost. Then my old friend Archibald MacLeish appeared as head of the Library of Congress. I had always wanted the collection to go there and so it did."



#### THE FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT COLLECTION

The Federal Theatre Project was national in scope, regional in emphasis, and designed to build new audiences throughout America. This "People's Theatre" employed over twelve thousand people within its 150 administrative units and produced over twenty-seven hundred stage plays in less than four years. Its sudden termination by Congress on June 30, 1939, caused considerable confusion regarding its records, files, and products.





Between 1939 and 1946, most of the "product materials" generated by the theater project came to the Library of Congress and most of the administrative records were sent to the National Archives. The sudden end of the Library of Congress Project in 1941 meant that most of the Library's materials remained unprocessed, including the sizable (fifty-six file cabinets, forty-two packing crates) Vassar College Loan Collection of FTP materials, an endeavor headed by Hallie Flanagan both before and after her

theater project career. With the exception of most of the music manuscripts and many posters, all added to the general collections of the Library of Congress, most of the Library's Federal Theatre Project material was sent to storage at Middle River, Maryland, in 1964. Ten years later this storage collection was placed on permanent deposit at George Mason University, where a Federal Theatre Project Research Center was established with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities.



An FSA photograph of Pittsburgh by Walker Evans, December 1935. *Farm Security Administration Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

The Library of Congress Collection at George Mason University includes over 5,000 play scripts, 2,500 radio scripts, 25,000 photographs, 350 scene designs, and 750 production notebooks, plus blueprints, posters, programs, and play reader's reports. In addition to organizing the material, the research center is conducting oral history interviews with persons formerly connected with the theater project. Many items from this collection are reproduced in *Free, Adult, Uncensored: The Living History of the Federal Theatre Project* (1978), edited by John O'Connor and Lorraine Brown.

The Library of Congress Music Division has a large collection of miscellaneous musical scores and orchestrations performed for Federal Theatre Project productions.

#### AMERICAN IMPRINTS INVENTORY

The American Imprints Inventory, a record of imprints from early American books, pamphlets, and broadsides, began operating as a Historical Records Survey project in 1937. It was directed by Douglas C. McMurtrie at the Chicago HRS office. Two products were expected: a file or union catalog of title slips representing the holdings of American libraries and a series of published checklists of state or city imprints within specific time periods. It was agreed in 1938 that the file eventually would come to the Library of Congress. Approximately fifteen million typed slips had been accumulated by March 1942 when work ceased and ownership of the file was formally transferred to the Library. "To protect this valuable file against any possible war damage," it was kept at the Wisconsin State Historical Society until February 1945, when it was finally shipped to Washington. By



then forty-nine checklists of state publications had been published, all based on information in the massive file.

Graduate students from the library school at Catholic University were the file's major users at the Library of Congress, compiling forty imprint checklists which were added to the Library's collections. In 1957 the Library deposited all title slips for pre-1801 publications at the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts. In 1970 Scarecrow Press, publisher of the *Checklist of American Imprints*, requested that the file be transferred to a nearby library. No longer able to provide adequate space for the 150 American Imprints Inventory file cabinets, the Library agreed, as long as the files would remain accessible to all researchers. Late in 1970 the American Imprints Inventory was placed on deposit at the Rutgers University Library, the Kilmer Area Library, Piscataway, New Jersey.

A Japanese-American cleaning a cemetery before being evacuated under the U.S. Army War Emergency Act. San Juan Bautista, California, May 1942. Photograph by Russell Lee. *Farm Security Administration Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

As part of the inventory, the texts of broadsides located in various American libraries were copied and filed chronologically by state. The estimated seventy-five thousand sheets containing this textual information are in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

#### DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST FOURTEEN CONGRESSES

Beginning in 1940, Historical Records Survey workers assigned to the Library's Documents Division began to collect and organize a complete set of the printed documents of the first fourteen American Congresses (1789-1817). The documents were arranged according to the order



This photograph of the Washband-Twitchell House, built in Oxford, Connecticut, about 1767, was made as part of the Federal Writers' Project's census of old Connecticut buildings. The building was once an inn run by Joshua Washband, Jr. *Architectural Collections, Prints and Photographs Division.*

Changing a tire in Washington, D.C. Photograph taken in May 1942 by John Collier. *Farm Security Administration Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

of their listing in A. W. Greely's *Public Documents of the First Fourteen Congresses* (Washington, 1904). The Massachusetts HRS supplied the project with documents from the American Antiquarian Society that could not be located elsewhere; these documents were photostated and added to the collection. The project ceased





when the Library of Congress Project was terminated, but since then it has been completed. The collection, numbering 20,532 pieces, is housed in the Library's Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

#### UNPUBLISHED WPA MATERIALS

The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress contains numerous containers of unpublished manuscripts, transcripts, and research materials generated by the arts projects, primarily the Historical Records Survey and the Federal Writers' Project. Most of this material came to the Library of Congress in 1939 with the national editorial projects of the records survey and the writers' project, then remained behind after those efforts ended in August 1940.

The Historical Records Survey collection includes 131 containers of general administrative and project records, transcripts of county archives in Tennessee (27 containers), maritime records of the port of Philadelphia, 1766-1937, and registrations of deaths in the city of Philadelphia, 1803-60 (68 containers); Mormon diaries, journals, and biographical materials from Utah (14 containers); documents from Spanish archives relating to the history of North Carolina (3 containers); local records from Nashua, New Hampshire, 1627-1937; and records of the Matador Land and Cattle Company in Texas, 1885-1915.

The Federal Writers' Project portion of the collection, deposited at the Library in 1942, includes manuscripts that were approved for publication but remained unpublished for various reasons and copies of unedited material thought to be of potential research value. Two examples are materials for a book on eating customs called "America Eats," and 13 containers of materials for a history of grazing.

The location of the national writers' project editorial office at the Library of Congress between October 1939 and August 1940 meant that research materials for many of the titles in the American Guide series, including the guides for Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, New Mexico, Ohio, and Texas, also came to the Library. This collection, arranged by state or city, includes correspondence, memoranda, notes, critical opinions, and so forth.



Work relief for unemployed writers was provided by the Federal Writers' Project, which concentrated on "describing America to Americans," as this poster explains. Work on the state guidebooks took priority, but WPA writers also collected regional and local folklore, recorded life histories of longtime residents, interviewed former slaves, and produced short stories and poems. *Poster Collection, Prints and Photographs Division.*

#### WPA PRINTS

Two hundred and twenty prints produced by WPA artists have been integrated into the fine print collection in the Prints and Photographs Division. Individual items are listed by artist in the fine prints card index and in the publication *American Prints in the Library of Congress* (Baltimore: Published for the Library of Congress by the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970).



The Los Angeles Stock Exchange on November 17, 1937, photographed by the Los Angeles Federal Writers' Project. *Architectural Collections, Prints and Photographs Division.*

Posters produced by the New York City and Arizona art projects to promote the American Guide Series. The New York City guide was reprinted in 1982 by Pantheon and currently sells for \$20 clothbound, \$8.95 paperbound.

# NEW YORK CITY GUIDE

MANHATTAN  
BROOKLYN  
THE BRONX  
QUEENS  
RICHMOND

800 PAGES  
132 ILLUSTRATIONS  
37 MAPS  
WORLD'S FAIR  
SUPPLEMENT

\$  
3<sup>00</sup>

.... AT ALL  
BOOK STORES



FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT IN NEW YORK CITY  
WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION  
AMERICAN GUIDE SERIES



MADE BY WPA FEDERAL ART PROJECT N.Y.C.

AMERICAN GUIDE SERIES  
**ARIZONA**

**A GUIDE TO ITS PAST and PRESENT  
ITS PLACES and PEOPLE**



**157 DRAWINGS, MAPS,  
and PHOTOGRAPHS**

**HASTINGS HOUSE, NEW YORK  
PUBLISHERS**

PRICE  
**\$2.50**

**ARIZONA WRITERS' PROJECT**

**WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION**

ARIZONA ART PROJECT





#### WPA POSTERS

Nearly a thousand silk-screened posters produced in the 1930s by various branches of the WPA are in the Prints and Photographs Division. Transferred to the Library in the 1940s, these posters were used to publicize Federal Theatre Project productions, exhibits, community activities, and health and educational programs in twenty states.

A photograph of the Old South Meeting House in Boston taken for a Federal Writers' Project guide. *Architectural Collections, Prints and Photographs Division.*

JOHN Y. COLE is executive director of the Center for the Book in the Library of Congress. This article is based on files in the Library of Congress Archives and on the annual reports of the Librarian of Congress, 1936-41.



# Music for the MONSTERS

## Universal Pictures' Horror Film Scores of the Thirties

BY WILLIAM H. ROSAR

**T**he horror films produced by Universal Pictures between 1930 and 1936 have enjoyed continuous popularity since they premiered five decades ago and are regarded as classics of their genre. They are also the films for which Universal is mainly remembered for that period, which is ironic in that they were nearly all low-budget "B" films. These films made the names of Frankenstein and Dracula household words, not to mention those of actors Boris Karloff and Bela Lugosi.

There were twelve films in all, produced under the regime of Carl Laemmle, who was the founder and president of Universal Pictures: *Dracula* (1931), *Frankenstein* (1931), *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1932), *The Old Dark House* (1932), *The Mummy* (1932), *The Invisible Man* (1933), *The Black Cat* (1934), *Werewolf of London* (1935), *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), *The Raven* (1935), *The Invisible Ray* (1935), and *Dracula's Daughter* (1936).<sup>1</sup> These films might never have been made had it not been for Laemmle's son, Carl Laemmle, Jr., who produced them, often against the advice of his father. Laemmle permitted his son to produce

films regarded as uncommercial prospects because Jr. had persuaded him to make *All Quiet on the Western Front* in 1930, which proved to be enormously successful and one of the finest films Universal ever made.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps one of Laemmle, Jr.'s least concerns was having music in his films (i.e., background music or underscoring—songs were another matter altogether) and he was directly responsible for the complete absence of music in at least one of the horror films he produced. Later, when he sanctioned the use of music, he ordered that it be dubbed so low that it is almost inaudible in some cases.

Let us see how music—or the lack of it—played a role in these films and how the fate of music in each film was affected by prevailing trends in the film industry at large and by the personal whims of any number of individuals involved in their production.<sup>3</sup>

**I**n the fall of 1930, when Universal finished its production of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, the place of music in sound films was the subject of ongoing controversy. In question were such issues as the amount of music there should be in a film, where the audience would think the music was "coming from" if they did not actually see musicians performing it, and whether or not to have music during dialogue scenes. The outcome of this debate was that, aside from main and end titles, there was very

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Bela Lugosi as Count Dracula in *Dracula* (1931).

Film stills courtesy of Universal Pictures, unless otherwise specified.

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The concert hall sequence in *Dracula* was the only place music was heard other than the main title.

little music in most early sound films.<sup>4</sup> For example, *All Quiet on the Western Front* had only main and end title music (the music heard during a film's opening credits and at the end of a film) consisting of an instrumental transcription of a German song, "Gebet Während der Schlacht," and "Huldigungs Marsch" from Grieg's *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, respectively. Universal was one of several studios whose policy was to have no music under dialogue, since it was felt that music interfered with it. Since most "talkies" were just that—nonstop dialogue from beginning to end—the policy to have no music

accompanying dialogue scenes virtually ruled out music altogether. Thus music was the exception, not the rule.

With these prevailing attitudes toward film music in 1930, it is perhaps not surprising that the only music in *Dracula* is heard during the main title and in the concert hall sequence where there is some "source" music (coming from an onscreen source). There was no music at the end of the film, only chimes (although the shooting script called for organ music). Universal's mystery thriller, *The Cat Creeps* (a remake of the silent film, *The Cat and the Canary*), which was scored about the same time, had only main and end title music. Ironically, *Dracula* is one of the few films of that time containing long stretches which are not only without dialogue

but which are virtually silent, leaving ample room for music!

What little music there was in Universal's early sound films typically consisted of a combination of original compositions, classical music, and published music which had been composed for use accompanying silent films. Curiously, the preponderance of musical activity was not in scoring sound films as such but in the preparation of scores for what were called "nondialogue" versions of sound films. These were prepared for foreign distribution and had foreign language dialogue titles instead of audible dialogue, with occasional sound effects and continuous recorded musical accompaniment. The nondialogue versions were the principal format in which American-made films were released in foreign countries. The process of dialogue dubbing was still comparatively crude, although *Dracula* was dubbed into French in Germany. In a few instances, foreign language versions were actually filmed, as was the case with *Dracula*, a Spanish version of which was shot with Spanish-speaking actors.<sup>5</sup> In addition, Universal also reissued some of its silent films in the nondialogue format, notably *The Phantom of the Opera*, which was given a full-length score and sound effects, with some of the opera sequences being reshot with singing and dialogue.

Supervising what little music there was in *Dracula* was the responsibility of Heinz Roemheld, who was general music director of Universal's Music Department at the time. He composed music for a number of Universal's films in 1930, including the nondialogue version of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, the musical *Captain of the Guard*, *Seed*, *Hell's Heroes*, and the main title music for *The Cat and the Canary*. Born in Milwaukee on May 1, 1901, Roemheld had been a concert pianist and studied composition in Berlin with Hugo Kaun, a rival of Richard Strauss. Roemheld was discovered in 1925 by Carl Laemmle at the Alhambra Theater in Milwaukee, a Laemmle movie theater. Roemheld was music director and conducted the pit orchestra which accompanied the silent films. Laemmle was very impressed by Roemheld's musical treatment of *The Phantom of the Opera*, for which the latter staged a musical prologue featuring opera stars singing arias from



Heinz Roemheld in 1930. Photo by Jack Freulich, Universal Pictures.

Gounod's *Faust*. Because of this, Laemmle gave him a four-year contract, first appointing him music director of the Rialto Theater in Washington, D.C., for two years and then sending him to Germany, where he managed Laemmle's two theaters in Berlin. In 1929 Laemmle brought Roemheld to California to be a composer in the Music Department at Universal. Roemheld succeeded David Broekman as general music director of the department in the summer of 1930 (Broekman had been appointed in early 1929). Roemheld had definite ideas about music in films, one of which was to use the classical songs of Schubert, Schumann, and others to offset the more-or-less exclusive use of songs by Tin Pan Alley songwriters which he regarded as being mostly second-rate.<sup>6</sup>

The main title of *Dracula* consists of an abbreviation of scene 2 from Tchaikovsky's *Swan Lake* ballet suite, edited to fit the length of the main title. Whose idea it was to use this piece, if not Roemheld's, is not known. However, it was the first time the piece was used





Bernhard Kaun.

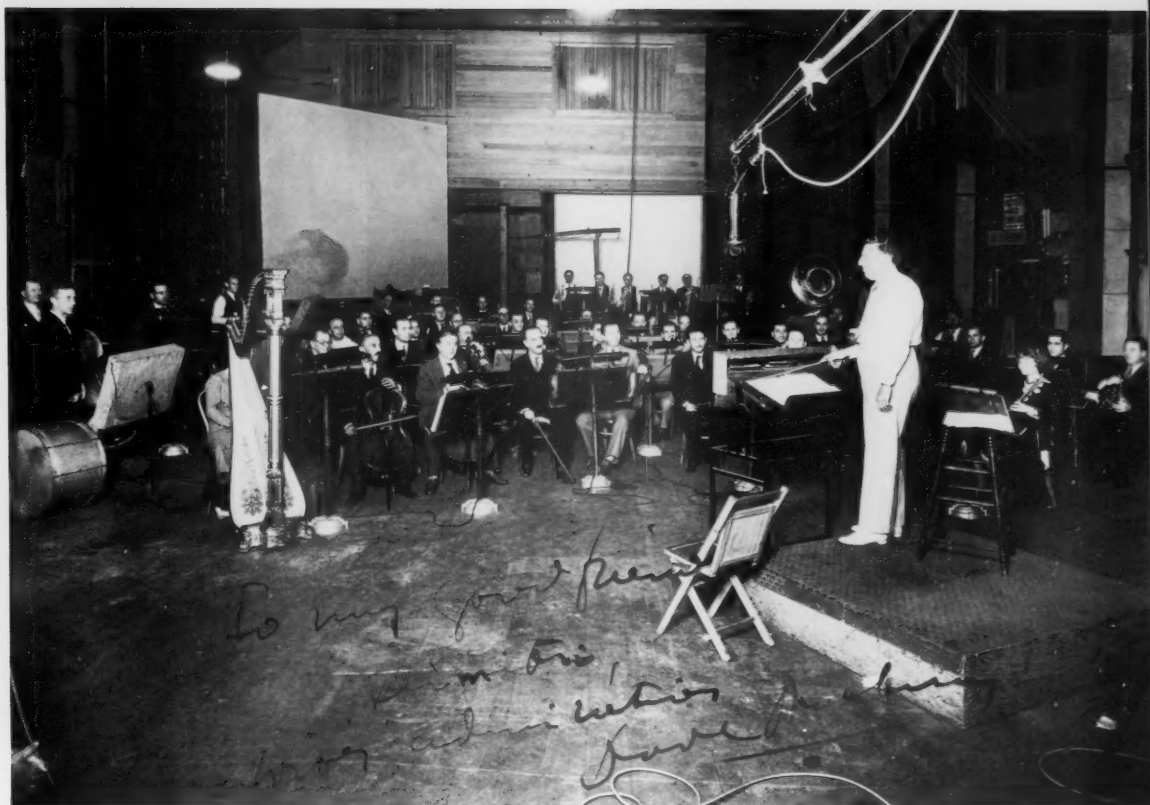
Boris Karloff as the monster in *Frankenstein* (1931), a film which "should have had a lot of music," according to composer Bernhard Kaun. Photo courtesy of Forrest J. Ackerman, Fantasy Film Archives, Hollywood, California.



in a Universal film, and it appears to have had a history of usage in silent films as a misterioso, and may have been chosen for *Dracula* for this reason. Any number of classical selections were used in the scores for Universal's nondialogue versions because they did not cost anything (being in the public domain) and were known to be dramatically effective by those who compiled the score.<sup>7</sup> It is also possible that it might have been selected by Sam Perry, a composer who had come to Universal with Broekman and was still working there at the time.<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to note that the classical excerpts heard in *Dracula* during the concert hall sequence (supposedly Albert Hall in London), the prelude to Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* and Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, almost seem to follow the action: a declamatory phrase from Schubert's symphony as Count Dracula (Bela Lugosi) enters the lobby of Albert

Hall; the majestic coda of Wagner's *Meistersinger* prelude as the count is ushered to his seat; and after the intervening intermission scene, a solemn figure in low strings from Schubert's symphony as the lights dim and the count exclaims, "There are far worse things awaiting man than death!" The illogical order in which the excerpts are heard in this concert hall context suggests that they were chosen and arranged in this sequence for dramatic effect. Lugosi's biographer, Arthur Lennig, provides an interesting example of the attitude toward music in those days when he points out that the scene in the concert hall was originally set in a living room. He speculates that "The reason for the switch in locale is obvious. [Tod] Browning [the director] or Universal wanted some background music, and since they did not (in late 1930) feel that films should have musical accompaniment without an actual source, the



scene was changed from the Seward living room to the theater."<sup>9</sup>

*Dracula* was a big hit at the box office and spurred other studios into making horror films. Universal quickly followed suit by producing *Frankenstein*, starring Boris Karloff as the monster. The music in *Frankenstein* provides another example of the trials and tribulations film music was going through in the early years of sound films.

In early 1931, Paramount initiated the idea of scoring its films from beginning to end with music, thinking that occasional music was an interruption whereas continuous music was not. Other studios (e.g., Fox) were soon to follow with full-length scores, and in fall 1931, Universal announced that two of its forthcoming films, *Heaven on Earth* and *Frankenstein* would be released with full-length

David Broekman conducting the Universal Pictures orchestra in 1930. Photo inscribed by Broekman to composer Dimitri Tiomkin, who scored *Resurrection* at Universal that year.

scores.<sup>10</sup> In the meantime, only a few months earlier Universal had laid off Heinz Roemheld, the last remaining member of its Music Department. One of the last films Roemheld worked on was a nondialogue reissue of Universal's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, for which he and Sam Perry composed a number of original pieces, in addition to using published music and music composed for other nondialogue versions of films. Universal announced that henceforth it would contract composers on an individual picture basis.<sup>11</sup> Among the reasons given for this change in policy were that they already had enough recorded music which could be used to score films and that there was also



James Dietrich in 1930. Photo by Jack Freulich, Universal Pictures.

Every time Im Ho Tep-Ardeth Bey (Boris Karloff) cast spells by his pool in *The Mummy* (1932) Dietrich's piece, entitled "The Pool," was heard. Photo courtesy of Forrest J. Ackerman, Fantasy Film Archives.



the ready availability of public domain music which did not cost anything to use. Thus, it was argued, there was no need for retaining a music director or composers on staff. Perhaps even more influential than any of these considerations was Carl Laemmle's conviction that music was not going to last in films but was only a passing fad. Gilbert Kurland, who was supervisor of the Sound Department, was given the additional responsibility of supervising music, and was placed in charge of hiring composers.

Kurland engaged David Broekman as music director (actually conductor) on *Heaven on Earth* and Bernhard Kaun as composer. Kaun (born April 5, 1899, in Milwaukee; died January 3, 1980, in Baden-Baden, Germany) was the son of Hugo Kaun, Roemheld's composition teacher. Although American born, Kaun was

raised in Germany. His musical studies began at an early age under the tutelage of his father. He came to the United States in 1924 and worked as an arranger for Mills Music Co. and later for movie theaters in New York City. His arrangements of Wagner for the UFA *Siegfried* gained the attention of Victor Wagner of the Eastman School of Music, who introduced him to Howard Hanson. Kaun orchestrated Hanson's *Lament of Beowulf*, and his *Organ Symphony*. In 1925, Kaun was brought to Milwaukee by Heinz Roemheld, where he worked as assistant music director at the Alhambra Theater. Returning to Eastman the same year, Kaun worked as assistant to Howard Hanson until 1928, and was involved in the creation of the Eastman Festivals of Modern Music. After this, Kaun spent two years in Germany, and was then brought to Universal as a composer by Roem-

held in 1931. Among his first composing assignments that year was writing music for Universal's nondialogue reissue of its 1926 silent film, *The Midnight Sun*. In a letter dated February 21, 1970, Kaun wrote to the author about his experience working on *Heaven on Earth* and *Frankenstein*, recalling that the former was the first sound film at Universal to have a complete background score:

David Broekman took credit for *Heaven on Earth*. I got \$500 for it and was glad to get it during the depression after the bank crash of 1929. In later years such a score would have fetched \$5000 or more. In those years background music in films was unknown and one didn't know what to do with it. When *Heaven on Earth* was shown in the projection room at Universal, the producer, Laemmle, Jr., said at times "that's a nice tune—who wrote it?" Broekman said "Oh, well, hm, hm, a fellow who works for me." I didn't say anything (I needed the money). At some spots, when someone said "how are you," Laemmle said "cut

the music out under that, one has to hear the dialogue." My score was chopped up and often didn't make sense anymore. So what! Because of that I could only write the Main Title for *Frankenstein*, although this picture should have had a lot of music.

Kaun's main title is imbued with some of the attributes commonly associated with music in horror films. The music begins with a glowering modal figure, harmonized in a minor key, which imparts a stark, heavy, Teutonic feeling. This figure is repeated and then varied over a chromatic bass line, which churns and rolls under it, punctuated at one point with brass trills (no doubt to connote fright). The second half of the piece is more subdued, misterioso, with a me-

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Karloff as Im Ho Tep in *The Mummy*, here shown in a scene originally intended to contain music by composer James Dietrich. Photo courtesy of Forrest J. Ackerman, Fantasy Film Archives.





Bach's Adagio in A Minor for organ was used to accompany the devil-worshipping scene in *The Black Cat* (1934).

andering woodwind figure, giving way to an orchestration suggestive of the sound of a bell tolling. As if it were a veil of mist, the music is swept away with a glissando on the piano, and ends on a bare open fifth—leaving a feeling of bleakness and mystery. It is worth mentioning that many of the stylistic traits of this piece are very much reminiscent of the style of silent film music, an idiom Kaun must have had some knowledge of from his days in Milwaukee as Roemheld's assistant at the Alhambra Theater. Such was the fate of the first original music composed for Universal's horror film cycle. The music used for the end titles was a published piece entitled "Grand Appassionato," written by Giuseppe Becce for use in silent films.

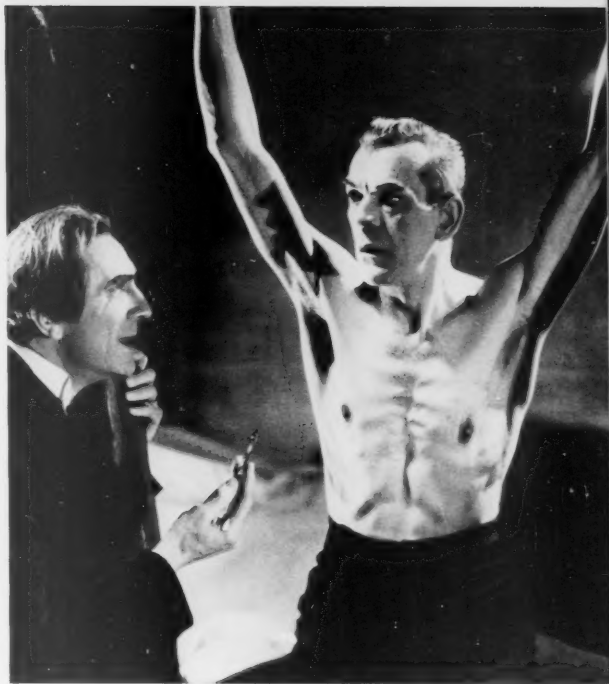
One can get an idea of how Kaun might have scored the creation sequence in *Frankenstein* from the laboratory sequences in his later scores for two Warner Bros. horror films, *The Walking Dead* (starring Karloff) and *The Return of Doctor X* (1938, Humphrey Bogart's only horror film role). In any case, full-length scores did not go over with Universal's front office. In fact, *Murders in the Rue Morgue*, starring Lugosi as the diabolical Dr. Mirakle, released only a few months after *Frankenstein*, again had only main and end title music, except for one inconsequential scene accompanied by a waltz. None of the music was composed for the film. In interviews with the author, Gilbert Kurland recalled that when a film's budget was low and they could not afford to hire a composer, he and the studio pianist-orchestra contractor, David Klatzkin, would select recorded music from earlier films and use it in lieu of a new score.



The main title of *Murders in the Rue Morgue* consists of two pieces, an unidentified misterioso (for some reason not listed on the cue sheet) followed by the *Swan Lake* excerpt, no doubt used because of its association with *Dracula*. The brief misterioso is of significance because it consists of a melodic progression of tritones. The tritone was once considered a forbidden interval in church music and was called *diabolus in musica*, so its use in this context is quite appropriate and perhaps intentional. A march from *The White Hell of Pitz Palu*, a 1930 German-made silent film which Universal bought and released with narration and a full-length score by Roemheld, was used as the end title music. A "Viennese Waltz" by Roemheld (original source unknown) is heard during the scene on the swing with Leon Ames and Sidney Fox. Thus, while there is no relationship between the music in *Dracula* and *Frankenstein*, *Dracula* and *Murders in the Rue Morgue* possess musical continuity by way of *Swan Lake*, strengthening the psychological association between *Swan Lake* and horror films.

Scored in July 1932, the musical treatment of *The Old Dark House* was much the same as that for *Rue Morgue*—no music except for main and end titles. The main title, however, was specially composed by David Broekman.

**B**roekman was born in Leiden, Holland, on May 13, 1902, and died in New York City on April 1, 1958. He received his musical education at the Royal Conservatory at the Hague under Van Anrooy and Hofmeister. While still a youth, he conducted orchestras in opera houses in France. He emigrated to the United States in 1924 and became a violinist in the Roxy Theater Orchestra in New York City. After acting as musical adviser for Electrical Research Products, Inc. (pioneers in the development of film recording), he was invited to be music director at Universal in early 1929 (succeeding Josef Cherniavsky), a post he held for about a year.<sup>12</sup> A month before working on *The Old Dark House*, Broekman had composed main titles and a few pieces of incidental scoring for Universal's *Back Street* and *Tom Brown at Culver*—apparently instances when Broekman actually composed the music for which he



Two scenes from *The Black Cat*. Roemheld used the tumultuous *sempre forte ed agitato* section from Liszt's Sonata in B Minor to great effect in the climax of this film when Werdegast (Lugosi) skins Poelzig (Karloff) alive!





Henry Hull as Dr. Wilfred Glendon, the werewolf in *Werewolf of London* (1935). This sequence was scored entirely with track.

claimed credit.<sup>13</sup> The finale of Roemheld's *Pitz Palu* score served as end title music.

Broekman's main title is a rather weird jumble of musical noises, with one figure resembling the second theme in Richard Strauss's droll *Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks*, perhaps in keeping with the grotesquely humorous character of the film. A clap of thunder occurs in the middle of the music.

The same month the music was recorded for *The Old Dark House*, Universal again gambled on film music, and *My Pal the King* received a lengthy score, compiled entirely, however, from the music sound tracks of earlier Universal films. (Such scores acquired the name "track

jobs"; the music used was called "canned music," "track music," or just "track.")

At best, the main title music in *Dracula*, *Frankenstein*, *Murders in the Rue Morgue* and *The Old Dark House* set the mood of the films, whereas *The Mummy*, which was scored in November 1932, was the first film in Universal's horror cycle to contain music during a significant number of scenes, which in several instances enhanced the drama substantially. Several cues were heard under dialogue, although dubbed at a very low volume.

It was not the Music Department's initiative that was responsible for there being incidental music in *The Mummy*, but rather that of the film's director, Karl Freund, who had been cinematographer on *Dracula* and *Murders in the Rue Morgue*. Freund had specific ideas about where he wanted music in *The Mummy*, according to the man who composed it, James Dietrich.

Dietrich was born in Kansas City, Missouri, on October 30, 1894, and received his musical education at the University of Missouri (from which he obtained a B.A. in music) and at the Schola Cantorum in France, where he studied composition with Vincent D'Indy. Dietrich was a composer, arranger and music director in New York, where he worked for famous theatrical producer John Murray Anderson. When Anderson came to Universal in 1929 to direct *King of Jazz*, he brought Dietrich with him to be the film's musical arranger. All concerned liked Dietrich's scoring of the cartoon sequence in *King of Jazz* so much that he was soon appointed Universal's cartoon composer (for Walter Lantz Productions). One of Dietrich's innovations was the "bouncing ball" in cartoon songs. He had wanted to score feature films and was given his first chance to do so in 1932 on *They Just Had to Get Married*. Everyone at Universal was so pleased with his work that he was given the job of scoring *The Mummy*.

In interviews with me, Dietrich explained that Freund told him which scenes should contain music—for example, when the living mummy, Im Ho Tep (Karloff) is seen casting spells by his magical pool. Freund also asked that the second half of the last reel be scored.

Dietrich wrote several pieces as requested, which he also orchestrated and conducted in the recording. Dietrich's idea was to work all his themes into a recapitulation for the finale, but unfortunately this was not what Freund wanted. There were also one or two cues he wrote which Freund did not like and which were not used. Dietrich's music was also supplemented with track, the final ratio being about one-half original music by Dietrich and one-half track, adding up to there being about twenty minutes of music in the film. Once again *Swan Lake*, prefaced by the same misterioso used in *Murders in the Rue Morgue*, was used for the main title, and it is interesting to note that Dietrich claimed Freund did not ask him to compose main title music, which suggests that Freund may have explicitly had in mind using *Swan Lake* because of its prior association with *Dracula* and *Rue Morgue*.<sup>14</sup>

Of the several pieces Dietrich wrote, five were used. Each piece, with one exception, is heard in more than one scene in the film. He com-

posed a tragic waltz for the flashback sequence depicting ancient Egypt (entitled "Waltz—Love and Death on the Fountain" on Dietrich's sketches) which was not used and was replaced by a montage of track consisting of: a "lento" by Roemheld (original source unidentified); a melodramatic dirge by Belgian composer Michel Brusselmans, published for use in silent films (recorded presumably for an earlier unidentified Universal film); a repetition of these two pieces; and a "marche funebre" from Roemheld's *Pitz Palu* score.

The most interesting piece Dietrich wrote is a hypnotic ostinato entitled on the cue sheets "The Pool and Whemple" ("Im Ho Tep's Pool Menace" on Dietrich's sketches). This piece is based on the whole-tone scale, a device long associated with supernatural elements in theater and program music.<sup>15</sup> It is heard each time Im Ho Tep casts magic spells at his pool attempting to kill his adversaries. As his sketches indicate, Dietrich had originally intended to have a version of this piece accompany the scene where Im Ho Tep first comes to life in his sarcophagus as the young archaeologist, Norton (Bramwell Fletcher), murmurs the magical words from the Scroll of Thoth and upon seeing the mummy standing beside him goes stark staring mad—a scene that has no music today. Dietrich notes on his sketches that "Im Ho Tep's Pool Menace" is a development of the "mad theme (of Norton)." This seems to suggest that Dietrich intended this music to be heard whenever something supernatural or magical was happening in the story.

By the beginning of 1933, film music was rapidly becoming reestablished as a potent part of the technique of movie story telling, almost as much as it had already been in the silent film era. Early in the year, Max Steiner completed his monumental score for RKO's *King Kong*, surely the most musically adventurous and ambitious score composed for an American sound film up to that time (orchestrated, incidentally, by Bernhard Kaun). At about the same time, W. Franke Harling wrote a lengthy score for Universal's *Destination Unknown* (a score which quotes liberally from Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody no. 1 and Wagner's *Parsifal*). But in spite of the greater role

film music was playing in sound films, which was reflected in a statement attributed to Laemmle, Jr., that "Music is here to stay," there was less music in Universal's next horror film, *The Invisible Man*, than in its predecessor, *The Mummy*. In fact, it contained scarcely ten minutes of music, composed by Heinz Roemheld.

Roemheld, after losing his position as music director at Universal, spent two years in Washington, D.C., where he tried unsuccessfully to make a living giving piano lessons and playing piano in the mezzanine of the Shoreham Hotel. He returned to Hollywood in late 1933 destitute but luckily soon got work as a staff composer at Paramount through Rudolph Kopp, an old friend of his from Milwaukee, who was working at the studio as a composer. Shortly thereafter, he was hired by his alma mater to score *The Invisible Man*.

The only music in the film is in the two sequences where snow is falling—the beginning and the ending. Perhaps director James Whale wanted to have music in only these two sequences to dramatize the fact that it was only in the snow that Jack Griffin, the invisible man (Claude Rains) could be seen, thus portending his demise. Roemheld once remarked to the author, while viewing the film, that it seemed strange to him that there was music in only these two spots in the film, but did not recall the reason for it. He even mentioned that it might have been nice to have had a little "tea music" in the touching scene between Griffin and his girl, Flora (Gloria Stuart).

Roemheld sought to capture the atmosphere of falling snow in his music with orchestral effects such as woodwind runs suggesting snow flurries (and reminiscent of similar "snow" music in his *Pitz Palu* score). In addition, during the film's credits the music seems so orchestrated and timed as to blend and synchronize with a superimposed image of snow blowing and the periodic sound of a snow blizzard. There also seem to be definite humorous overtones to Roemheld's music. It has a rather satirical quality—an impish mock-serious character—perhaps reflecting these elements in the film as well as Roemheld's own proclivity for musical humor.

The music is based almost entirely on two contrasting motifs, one stark and portentous (with a tritone in it), the other droll and bouncy.

Roemheld's development of these two motifs is ingenious and effective; quasi-Wagnerian horn lines are interwoven with sparse, impressionistic woodwind and pizzicato string effects, constantly punctuated with Debussyan major ninth chords, which he uses like musical exclamation marks. Syncopated, sometimes jazzy rhythms predominate (part of the main title sounds almost like a tango), keeping the music lively. At certain spots the music accompanying the invisible man's stealthy movements or presence seems to allude, tongue in cheek, to old-fashioned villain music used in silent films, such as the famous "Misterioso Pizzicato," attributed to E. Bodewalt Lampe in the *Remick Folio of Motion Picture Music* (published in 1914). (This piece is undoubtedly familiar to most readers from its hundreds of tongue-in-cheek uses in features and cartoons every time a villain is seen sneaking about. Max Steiner used it in a number of his film scores, such as for the frog-jumping contest in the 1944 Warner Bros. production of *The Adventures of Mark Twain*.)

By spring 1934, Roemheld had become a regular composer at Universal again, as well as working at Warner Brothers and Paramount. According to Gilbert Kurland, Roemheld acquired a reputation for being very fast at composing and reliable in getting jobs done on schedule—major concerns to this day in film composing. Perhaps for this reason, and because he had scored *The Invisible Man*, Roemheld was hired to score *The Black Cat*, Universal's first attempt to co-bill their two big horror movie stars, Karloff and Lugosi, in one film. The credits state that the film was "suggested by" Poe's short story of that title but there is very little Poe in what amounts to a completely original story written by the film's director, Edgar G. Ulmer, in collaboration with Peter Ruric.

Roemheld recalled that he was specifically asked by Ulmer to score the film using classical music partly because Ulmer was portraying the Satanic character in the story, Hjalmar Poelzig (Karloff), as an *arbiter elegantiarum*—possessing refined taste.<sup>16</sup> However, in the shooting script for the film the titles of various classical compositions are indicated in certain scenes, some of which occur before Poelzig is introduced in the story. For example, the shooting script indicates that part of the "Transfiguration" from



the second act of Wagner's *Parsifal* was to be heard during a scene (which was not filmed) showing the exterior of the cathedral where the Allison's (David Manners and Jacqueline Wells) wedding was to take place. For the ceremony, a wedding hymn by Palestrina was to be sung a cappella by a choir "to organ accompaniment." The script also notes that Dukas's *Sorcerer's Apprentice* was to be heard in two places—first, during the scene where Werdegast (Lugosi) stares out the train window into the rainstorm and later, when he kills the black cat in Poelzig's study. Another scene in the script that was not in the film, showing Poelzig's dropping a book (Ibsen's play, *And the Dead Awaken*) to the floor as he nods off to sleep in bed, was to be followed by the opening bars of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D Minor is also indicated in the script for the scene of Poelzig playing the organ. Except for the latter piece, none of the other selections was used by Roemheld. It seems likely that Ulmer wanted to use classical music mainly because he liked it and thought it would lend an air of sophistication or class to his film.

**R**oemheld brought to the task of selecting and adapting the classical works he used the expertise acquired during the years he spent choosing and adapting music for silent film accompaniment, not to mention preparing countless scores for Universal's nondialogue film versions. He used music mainly from the Romantic period (as was most of the music used in films during the silent era). Before the score was recorded, Roemheld played his selections on the piano for Ulmer while Ulmer viewed the film on a Moviola. This enabled Ulmer to judge whether the music matched his own conceptions. As it turned out Ulmer was delighted with Roemheld's skilled and tasteful job of selection and adaptation. The completed score was recorded with Roemheld conducting an orchestra of fifty musicians (nearly twice the size of the typical studio orchestra at that time).<sup>17</sup>

The score for *The Black Cat* is the longest and most substantial in the horror film series. Of *The Black Cat*'s sixty-five minutes, fifty-five contain music. As had become common practice in the silent film era, Roemheld employed motifs

for the main characters and appropriate mood pieces for situations. In several cases, he used piano music which he orchestrated specially for the score.

The themes Roemheld chose for the characters in *The Black Cat* are: the imposing first theme in Liszt's Piano Sonata in B Minor for the demonic Poelzig, which he used not only because it sounded diabolical but because it had the nickname "The Devil Sonata" and he associated it with the satanic character for this reason; for the melancholy Dr. Werdegast, the brooding opening theme of Liszt's symphonic poem *Tasso* (coincidentally about a poet who was unjustly imprisoned, as was Werdegast); for the honeymooners, Joan and Peter Allison, the "Cat Love Theme," modeled by Roemheld on the famous love theme in Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet*; and for the blonde enchantress, Karen (Lucille Lund, Werdegast's daughter and Poelzig's wife in the story), the haunting song "Sapphic Ode" (originally for voice and piano). As mood music Roemheld used part of the festive Hungarian Rhapsody no. 3 by Liszt for the opening montage in the Hungarian train station. To accompany the scene following the bus crash in the storm, Roemheld used part of the "storm" music from Liszt's symphonic poem *Les Preludes*. This passage is reprised during the exterior scene of Poelzig receiving demonic afflatus with the trees blowing in the background against an ominous cloudy sky. (Roemheld also used this excerpt the following year in his score for Paramount's *Private Worlds*, in a symbolic storm scene which depicts the heroine suffering a nervous breakdown.) For the long shot of Poelzig's hilltop home Roemheld quoted part of the "Rakoczy March" from Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody no. 15. He used this to suggest both the Hungarian locale and its military history—that Poelzig built his home on the foundations of a wartime fortress called *Marmaros*, where countless soldiers had lost their lives in World War I. Later, Roemheld used the "Rakoczy March" as the basis of a humorous interlude entitled "Hungarian Burlesque" which is heard during the comic scene with the gendarmes. When we first see the modern interior of *Marmaros*, we hear Chopin's Second Piano Prelude. Initially coming from the radio as source music, the first climax in the first movement of Schu-



bert's Unfinished Symphony accompanies the action as Werdegast compulsively kills the black cat in Poelzig's study (where Ulmer, in the shooting script, had wanted Dukas's *Sorcerer's Apprentice*), much in the same way as the source music works in *Dracula* (and, in fact, part of this same piece was used as source music in *Dracula*). First the music is quietly lyrical, as Werdegast, Poelzig, and Allison converse pleasantly, then suddenly it becomes tense as Werdegast sees the black cat, and it climaxes as he throws the knife at the cat, killing it. The high emotion subsides to sweet lyricism as Joan mysteriously enters the room in a trance, then the music becomes ominous as Poelzig explains Werdegast's peculiar cat phobia.

A jazzy theme entitled "Dialogue," associated with Peter Allison's glib attempts at conversation, is based on the famous adagio theme in the first movement of Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony. Music heard in two other scenes is also derived from other parts of the same symphony. The dreamy music with its incessant timpani beat, which accompanies the scene where Poelzig admires his collection of embalmed women in glass cases, is based upon the 5/4 movement; the agitated music heard when the Allison's try unsuccessfully to escape from Marmaros is based upon and partly quotes the first movement. Roemheld explained that the reason why Tchaikovsky's music was mostly paraphrased rather than quoted was that there was some question as to whether it was in the public domain at that time, and rather than paying for its use, he modified it.<sup>18</sup> For the scene where Poelzig takes Werdegast to the cellar (actually the walls of the old fort), Roemheld used the solemn slow movement of Schumann's Piano Quintet in E-flat which, according to Roemheld, had often been used as a funeral march and is here a fitting accompaniment to the prevailing atmosphere of death. (The quintet is later reprised when Allison is assailed by Werdegast's servant and locked away in a dungeon in the cellar.) After Poelzig shows Werdegast the embalmed body of his own wife (with whom Poelzig absconded), and Werdegast draws a gun on him only to be paralyzed with terror by the sight of a black cat, the reflective monologue delivered by Poelzig which follows is beautifully underscored by the hymnlike alle-

gretto movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. As indicated in the script, Poelzig plays the Toccata from Bach's immortal Toccata and Fugue in D Minor on the organ. This piece had an earlier use in Paramount's 1930 adaptation of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, where it is heard in the main title, in an arrangement by Paramount staff composer Herman Hand. (In the original script, Jekyll [Fredric March] was to have been shown playing it on the organ.) The procession of Poelzig to his satanic altar in the devil-worshipping ceremony is accompanied by the Adagio in A Minor from Bach's Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C, played on the organ. The climax of the film, after the girl disciple screams and faints during the satanic ritual and Werdegast frees Joan from the altar and takes her to the cellar, is accompanied by the very agitated beginning of Brahms's Rhapsody in B Minor (originally for piano). For the final confrontation between Poelzig and Werdegast—the violent fight and torture scene where Werdegast skins Poelzig alive—Roemheld used, to great effect, the furious *sempre forte ed agitato* section of the Liszt sonata. After having been shot in the back by Peter Allison, the mortally wounded Werdegast ignites the dynamite which undermines the house. The rueful accompanying music composed by Roemheld, entitled "Cat Threat" is a tragic march which sounds like it might have been inspired by Tchaikovsky's *Marche Slav*. In other sequences, Roemheld uses the Liszt sonata and Tasso themes as subjects of his own variations. A notable example of this is the long sequence which underscores the Allison's ill-fated attempt to leave Marmaros. About half of the score consists of such variations as well as some completely original music by Roemheld, the remaining half being actual quotations from the works of classical composers.

Roemheld's powerful score adds a good deal of passion, mood, and lyricism to *The Black Cat*, both heightening and complementing the drama synergistically, as a good score can. The amount and strength of the music in the film gives it a very musical quality. As horror historian Calvin Thomas Beck wrote:

Though Hollywood musical scoring was still in its early stages and used haphazardly, it plays a vital part in elevating *Black Cat* to its classical level, at times endowing the principal players' move-

ments with a lyrical opera-ballet rhythm underscored by variations from Brahms, Liszt, Tchaikovsky and others. Classical music in films has rarely been used with such grand effect and understanding, anticipating Kubrick's successful use of it in *2001* and *A Clockwork Orange*—two generations later.<sup>19</sup>

The job of scoring the next film in the series, *Werewolf of London*, was given to Hungarian-born composer Karl Hajos (born January 28, 1889, in Budapest; died in Hollywood, February 1, 1950) who scored Universal's *Manhattan Moon* the same year. Hajos received his musical education at the Academy of Music in Budapest, studying piano with Emil Sauer, and claimed to have studied composition and orchestration with Richard Strauss. From 1928 to 1934 he was a staff composer at Paramount.

There are about fifteen minutes of original music by Hajos in the film, and about thirteen minutes of track from Roemheld's scores for *The Invisible Man* and *The Black Cat*. It is perhaps significant that the track was drawn from the two preceding films in the series.

**H**ajos's music is based largely on one musical idea entitled "The Werewolf Theme," the theme of Dr. Wilfred Glendon (Henry Hull), the botanist who becomes a werewolf. This seven-note motif is typically heard played agitato in a completely whole-tone harmonization of augmented triads, once again harking back to the old tradition in theater music of whole-tone being associated with supernatural characters. In other instances, this theme is heard in variations of an elegiac mood; for example, during the scene where Glendon reads about lycanthropy (werewolfry) in the old book (which sounds for all the world like Jerome Kern's song, "Yesterdays" from *Roberta*, composed two years earlier), and later, as a mournful dirge when Dr. Yogami (Warner Oland), himself a werewolf, reads of Glendon's first victim in the newspaper headlines. At the end of the film, the theme appears as a funeral march as Glendon, the werewolf, is shot and dies at the feet of his wife (whom he was about to kill), begging her forgiveness. Dying, he reassumes the appearance of a man, and the music also undergoes a transformation—a veritable Death



Karl Hajos at the piano accompanying actress Dorothy Page on the set of Universal's *Manhattan Moon* (1935).

and Transfiguration, changing to a major key and swelling into a grandiose finale with obvious religious overtones, the orchestra joined by an organ as we see a majestic cloudy sky and a plane flying off into it. (This finale, with its syncopated trumpet figure and organ part, sounds as if it might have been inspired by Respighi's *Pines of Rome*.)

Another major motif in the score is a minor-keyed melody which has a haunting, wistful quality to it (and in its use of the melodic minor scale is reminiscent of the melodic style of Miklos Rozsa, possibly due to Hajos's and Rozsa's common Hungarian heritage). This theme is harmonized with a progression of impressionistic minor added-sixth triads which

imparts a dreamy, far-away mood. It seems to be associated with the exotic "wolf flower," the blossoms of which are the only antidote to lycanthropy. This theme and progression are nearly identical to part of Roemheld's *Invisible Man* main title, which also uses progressions of minor added-sixth triads. Both, for that matter, resemble such progressions in Debussy's works, e.g., his song "Nuit d'Etoiles" (Lovely Night of Stars). Similarly, Hajos's use of augmented triads in his "Werewolf Theme" closely resembles part of the finale music in *The Invisible Man*, entitled "Invisible Man Awakes"—a sequence, in fact, tracked in *Werewolf* (when Glendon is attacked by the werewolf Yogami in Tibet). One can only speculate as to whether Hajos was deliberately imitating—or was asked to imitate—Roemheld's score or whether Hajos and Roemheld were mutually influenced by a common source (e.g., Debussy). Whatever the case may have been, the use of identical or similar musical devices, in addition to the practice of tracking, undoubtedly contributed to a certain stylistic homogeneity in the scores to these films.

There are two very pretty interludes in the score which should not go without mention. One is heard when Glendon's wife, Lisa (Valerie Hobson), is courted by a former beau, Paul Ames (Lester Matthews), who shortly thereafter is attacked by Glendon as a werewolf. The other, a soulful melody featuring solo cello, entitled "The Lost Soul," accompanies the scene where Glendon prays to God that he be delivered from the curse of werewolfry, but to no avail. Both of these cues sound like they were influenced by the very popular "Meditation" from Massenet's opera *Thaïs*.

For an unknown reason key action scenes in the film are scored with track. For example, a large portion of Roemheld's finale music to *The Invisible Man* accompanies Glendon's trek and fight with the werewolf Yogami in Tibet, and later when Glendon desperately tries to hide from the approaching police at the end of the film. Music from *The Black Cat* is heard during Glendon's first transformation into a werewolf, and Glendon's fight with Yogami at the climax of the film is tracked with the very agitated excerpt from Liszt's B Minor Sonata with which Roemheld scored the fight and torture scene in *The Black Cat*.

We have seen how previous films in the series (e.g., *Murders in the Rue Morgue*, *The Old Dark House*, and *The Mummy*) used track music for reasons of economy, although according to Gilbert Kurland, sometimes other factors were involved. For example, it was common practice for track music to replace music which was not liked, at the request of a producer, director, or the front office; also, additional music might be desired in spots not already scored when insufficient time remained to compose and record it before the film's release date. However, this does not explain why one fight sequence (the one between Glendon and Paul Ames) has an original *agitato* written by Hajos accompanying it, while the fight between Glendon and Yogami in the film's climax is scored entirely with track—unless, of course, Hajos wrote music for the latter which was not used. There is also the possibility that it was intended from the start that original music would be composed for certain scenes while other sequences would be tracked—a practice sometimes employed in film scoring. Knowing Universal's budget-mindedness, perhaps there was only enough money allocated for some original music, with the intention of scoring the rest of the film with track.<sup>20</sup>

When Universal decided to make a sequel to *Frankenstein*, the economy-minded studio decided to gamble on the basis of its earlier box office successes with horror films and produce one with a higher budget and an emphasis on production values. *The Return of Frankenstein* or, as it was finally titled, *The Bride of Frankenstein* is without doubt the most imaginative of Universal's horror films in many respects, including the music, which was composed by German émigré Franz Waxman (born December 24, 1906, in Germany; died in Los Angeles, February 24, 1967). He studied music at the Dresden and Berlin Conservatories of Music and was the pianist in a German jazz band called Weintraub Synkopaters in the 1920s. Through Friedrich Hollander, who had written for the Synkopaters, Waxman got film work as an arranger. Hollander was working for German producer Erich Pommer and persuaded him to hire Waxman. In 1930, Pommer produced *The Blue Angel* for UFA in which the Weintraub Synkopaters are both heard and seen, and Waxman did the arrangements. In 1933, Pommer gave Waxman his first



major opportunity, which was to score his production of Molnar's *Liliom*, directed by Fritz Lang. The score Waxman wrote (in collaboration with Jean Lenoir) was distinctive in several respects. It employed a large chorus and three electrically amplified instruments called *ondes martinot*, and was recorded using an early multi-channel precursor of stereophonic sound.

**W**hen Pommer emigrated to America in 1934, he brought Waxman and gave him the job of music director on his production of *Music in the Air* at Fox. Waxman met director James Whale at a Christmas party that year and Whale invited him to sit in on the set of *The Bride of Frankenstein*, then in production. Waxman later claimed that Whale gave him the job of scoring *The Bride* because he had liked his score for *Liliom*. According to Waxman, Whale told him: "Nothing will be resolved in the picture, except the end destruction scene," and asked him, "Would you write an unresolved score for it?"<sup>21</sup>

Franz Waxman wrote an exciting chase and march for the scene in which the monster (Karloff) is apprehended by the villagers in *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935).

Clearly Waxman's musical imagination was excited by the subject matter, which allowed him an excellent opportunity to display his prowess as a film composer. Waxman later recalled, "It was a 'super horror' movie and demanded hauntingly eerie, weird and different music."<sup>22</sup> The resulting score is in all respects the most musically progressive and elaborate of the whole horror film series. His score was orchestrated by Clifford Vaughan, who had replaced Edward Ward's orchestrator at Universal earlier that year and orchestrated and partly ghost wrote the score for *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* for Ward. Vaughan had considerable organ training and suggested to Waxman the idea of using it in the orchestration in various ways. Vaughan's knowledge of the instrument proved invaluable in the orchestration, which makes extensive and ingenious use of the organ as an instrumental





The crypt scene in *The Bride of Frankenstein*, showing Ernest Thesiger as Dr. Pretorius and Karloff as the monster, was accompanied by Waxman's humorous "Danse Macabre." Photo courtesy of Forrest J. Ackerman, Fantasy Film Archives.

The apotheosis of Waxman's score for *The Bride of Frankenstein* is the music he composed for the sequence depicting the creation of the female monster. Shown here are Dr. Pretorius and Henry Frankenstein (Colin Clive), making final preparations for the vivification of their female creation.

color throughout the score. Around this time, Universal engaged Constantin Bakaleinikoff as a conductor to conduct the music of those composers who did not conduct, and it was he who conducted Waxman's score.

Each of the three principal themes Waxman wrote for the score has a distinctive contrasting







personality: a simple five-note motif for the monster (Karloff), which suggests the monster's growl in the fourth note by having the brass play with flutter-tongue; a glamorous motif for the monster's mate (Elsa Lanchester) titled "Female Monster Music"; and a sinister villainous theme for Dr. Pretorius (Ernest Thesiger). Early in the film there is a flighty theme for Minnie (Una O'Connor), the Frankenstein household maid, first heard when she sees the monster after he has emerged from the wreckage of the mill. There is also a stern staccato theme, heard occasionally throughout the film, which does not seem to be associated with any character, but rather with calamitous situations. For example, it forms the basis of a fugue when the monster flees from the burning hut of the old hermit (O. P. Heggie). Another motif, a brief chromatic run, often stated with tremolando strings (which

Henry Frankenstein, the monster's "mate" (Elsa Lanchester), the monster (Karloff), and Dr. Pretorius in *The Bride of Frankenstein*. Photo courtesy of Forrest J. Ackerman, Fantasy Film Archives.

sounds as if Waxman borrowed it from Gliere's *Ilya Murometz*), also seems to be associated with the monster at different places, for example, during the solemn processional march, as Henry Frankenstein (Colin Clive), thought dead, is taken to his home, and Minnie tells one of the servants that she has seen the monster—that he was not killed in the burning mill.

Used as leitmotifs, these themes are subjected to innumerable clever variations and development throughout the score in various dramatic—even horrific—situations. I still feel shudders to this day upon hearing the growling, discordant

statements of the monster theme heard in the main title (harmonized in dissonant whole-tone chords) and later when the monster's ghastly burned face is first seen in the wreckage of the burned mill.

There are many wonderful moments in Waxman's score. For example, there is the "Pastorale," when the monster is seen foraging in the woods, only to be assailed by the villagers. The idyllic beginning of this cue, evocative of Debussy's bucolic *Afternoon of a Faun*, gives way to an exciting chase as the monster is pursued and captured by the villagers. The monster is tied to a post and taken to the village, accompanied by a spirited march version of the chase theme. Later, when he escapes from the police dungeon where he is chained, the chase motif is reprised (with shades of "The Story of the Kalender Prince" in Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*) as he once again is pursued by the villagers.

Just as the story is permeated with humor, so is the music. For example, there is the whimsical music accompanying the scene where Pretorius shows Henry Frankenstein his own creations, the miniature living human beings he keeps in jars: a queen, a king, an archbishop, a mermaid, a ballerina, and a little devil. Using his orchestral resources in miniature, Waxman scores the scene mostly with woodwinds in the upper register. When the king tries to escape from his bottle to see the queen and we hear their squeaking speech, Waxman has the trumpets laughing with Harmon ("wah-wah") mutes; the organ plays a fleeting chorale as we see the archbishop and hear a petite statement of Mendelssohn's *Spring Song* for the little ballerina who will dance only to that piece! Even the menuetto which accompanies the prologue depicting Mary Shelley, her husband Percy, and Lord Byron is played tongue in cheek, with the flashbacks to *Frankenstein* scored in the style of the scherzo in Mendelssohn's incidental music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Another sequence of a grotesquely humorous character is entitled "Danse Macabre," presumably named after the well-known Saint-Saëns piece. However, about all the two pieces have in common besides their titles is that both are dancelike and use xylophone in the orchestration to suggest the sound of skeletons rattling. This

amusing cue forms a perfect musical counterpart to the comedic meeting in the crypt between Pretorius and the monster as the two have a pleasant little chat together. The piece is based predominantly on the Pretorius theme and is played almost entirely on the organ and pizzicato strings. In  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, the piece has been described as a "demented Laendler" by composer musicologist Fred Steiner. As Pretorius tells the monster of his plan to make a woman friend for him, there is a languorous statement of the "Female Monster Music," harmonized in a noticeably jazzy way, but also with shades of Strauss's "Dance of Salome." With his intimate knowledge of the organ, Vaughan arranged this piece using a number of unusual organ sonorities. The organ part was played by Oliver Wallace, who was also working as a composer at Universal in 1935, scoring *It Happened in New York* and *Alias Mary Dow*. According to Vaughan, Wallace complained bitterly about the various organ passages because Vaughan had arranged them in the manner of concert organ music, whereas Wallace knew only the flamboyant theater organ style of the Mighty Wurlitzer.

Certainly the culmination of the score is the orchestral tour de force Waxman wrote to accompany the creation of the monster's mate in Frankenstein's hilltop laboratory. The beating of the new creature's heart is suggested on timpani. The orchestral forces gradually accrue as the storm builds, and finally as the female creation is raised up through the ceiling of the laboratory to be infused with electrical life from the lightning above, the orchestra bursts forth in a kaleidoscope of musical impressionism. Straussian brass figures are enveloped in coloristic Debussyan harmonies and orchestral scintillation suggesting sparks and electricity. Finally pulling out all the stops—quite literally—the organ joins the ensemble as the "Female Monster" theme resounds exultantly, showered in tintinabulation. As the monster's mate is unveiled and Pretorius christens her "the Bride of Frankenstein," wedding bells decorate the "Female Monster Theme." But success soon turns to catastrophe as the new female creation, shrieking and hissing, shuns the monster. In a self-destructive impulse, the monster pulls a lever which blows the laboratory to bits. The furious accompanying music, interpolating the



"Female Monster" theme, seems to allude to the finale of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*, where the walls of Valhalla fall in on the protagonists. The music concludes with one last discordant statement of the monster theme. Waxman recounted later that the idea of ending the music with a "big dissonant chord" was Whale's.<sup>23</sup>

Because of reediting and reshooting after the score was recorded, the music had to be altered in certain places.<sup>24</sup> For example, a fugal middle section of the main title was supplanted with part of the Pretorius theme from a later sequence in the film. Also, the ending of the story was changed and reshot from one where everyone is destroyed as the monster blows up the laboratory to one where Henry Frankenstein and his wife escape. For this reason, part of the music Waxman composed for the ending of the creation of the monster's mate sequence was inserted

Franz Waxman and Boris Karloff in 1935. Photo courtesy of John Waxman.

as an end title, instead of the latter-mentioned discordant statement of the monster theme that Waxman originally had recorded to accompany the final explosion (which was to be the end of the film).

Waxman's score received acclaim from his colleagues (among them, distinguished film composer Hugo Friedhofer, who thought very highly of it) and secured for him a year's contract at Universal.

*The Black Cat's* great success at the box office motivated Universal to make another horror film costarring Karloff and Lugosi, and again the studio turned to Poe for source material, this time building a story around his poem "The Raven."

Clifford Vaughan, who orchestrated Waxman's score for *The Bride of Frankenstein*, was given the assignment of composing music for *The Raven*. Born in Bridgeton, New Jersey, on September 23, 1893, Vaughan's original ambition was to be a concert pianist. As a youth he also studied organ with the famous organist-composer Clarence Dickenson. Vaughan received a B.A. in music from the Philadelphia Conservatory of Music, where he studied composition with Henry Albert Lang (whom Vaughan characterized as a "strict contrapuntalist"). Before coming to Hollywood in late 1933, he had been a choral director, a piano accompanist to opera singers in vaudeville, a conductor at the Criterion Theater in New York City, a staff arranger at NBC, and Ruth St. Denis's music director during the Denishawn Dancers' oriental tour (1925-26).

Vaughan composed and orchestrated approximately fifteen minutes of music for *The Raven*, which was recorded in May 1935, with Bakaleinikoff conducting. As was the case with four of the previous films in Universal's horror film cycle, Vaughan's music was supplemented with track—in this case, about twenty minutes' worth from Harling's *Destination Unknown* and Roemheld's *The Black Cat* scores.

Vaughan wrote two themes for the score, a sinister one entitled "Raven Theme" (similar to a glum motif in Debussy's piano prelude, "Feuilles mortes" [Autumn Leaves]), which is associated with the deranged Poe worshipper, Dr. Richard Vollin (Lugosi). The other theme is a brooding one entitled "Bateman Theme." This theme is reminiscent of Rimsky-Korsakov's "Story of the Kalender Prince," particularly when it is heard in agitated variations (recall that Waxman's chase theme also sounded like this Rimsky-Korsakov piece in *The Bride*). Edmund Bateman (Karloff) is a criminal fleeing from the police who goes to the surgeon Vollin seeking a face change. In addition to the cues based on these themes, Vaughan wrote music for the ballet sequence, where Jean Thatcher (Irene Ware) dances to a recitation of Poe's "Raven."

The "Raven Theme" is first heard when Vollin recites Poe's poem for the museum curator; throughout the cue, Vaughan cleverly uses the xylophone to suggest the sound of the raven's pecking, as described in the poem. One of



Clifford Vaughan.

Vaughan's orchestral devices was the use of bass clarinets to reinforce the lower string parts (due to the paucity of cellos and bass in the studio orchestra). But this also imparted a distinctive color to the orchestration which seems ideally suited to sinister-sounding themes, such as his "Raven Theme" and Waxman's "Pretorius Theme" in *The Bride of Frankenstein*. Another distinctive orchestral device was Vaughan's use of flutter-tongue brass, discernible at various places as mordant, braying sounds in the orchestra (also used throughout the orchestration of *The Bride*). Of this, Vaughan later recollected in an interview with the author that flutter-tongue brass "was all the rage at the time. It was supposed to represent suspense, weird effects and stuff like that."<sup>25</sup> One of the high points in the score is when Vollin unveils Bateman's new face. Vaughan musically dramatizes this scene with a gradual crescendo based on transformations of the Bateman theme. The music reaches a shuddering climax as we see that Vollin has

horribly disfigured Bateman's face. Vaughan underscores this with a grotesque statement of the Bateman theme in strident, dissonant chords. This is followed by a mocking statement of the Vollin theme in muted brass, as Bateman asks if he looks different, hoping to look more handsome. This sequence is recapitulated as Vollin allows Bateman to examine his new face. Again, the Bateman theme is transformed and convoluted as Vollin draws the curtains on not one, but a whole series of mirrors, each reflecting the monstrous image of Bateman's new face. The music ends as Bateman, growing with anger, shatters each mirror by shooting it with his pistol. A similar and even more dramatic treatment of the two themes occurs at the close of the film when Bateman knocks out Vollin and drags him into the torture chamber where the walls come together to crush the victim.

As with *Werewolf of London*, many key scenes in *The Raven* were scored with track. However, in this case, Vaughan distinctly recalled that he knew nothing of there being an intention to add track music when he was writing music for the film. Virtually the whole finale of *The Black Cat* is used for the closing scenes of the film. The long scene where Vollin demonstrates his torture devices for Bateman is also accompanied by various excerpts from *The Black Cat*. Lugosi, rather than Karloff this time, is shown playing Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D Minor (tracked from *The Black Cat*). The main title of Harling's *Destination Unknown* score was used for the main title, and a "Storm Scene" from the same score was used for the auto crash at the beginning of the film when Jean is injured.

Being in so many ways a poor imitation of *The Black Cat*, *The Raven* is probably the least distinguished of the films in the series. It nonetheless contains some good atmospheric moments, heightened by Vaughan's chromatic and rather contrapuntal music.

In late 1935, Franz Waxman was given the job of scoring Universal's next horror thriller, *The Invisible Ray*, which was Karloff and Lugosi's third film together. Waxman wrote an exciting and very moving score of about twenty-five minutes' duration. It is to a large extent fashioned out of four themes: an ascending heroic one, usually played on brass and associated with the scientist, Janos Rukh (Karloff)—its upward

Clifford Vaughan's discordant agitated music for the bandage scene in *The Raven* (1935) heightens the horror considerably as Bateman's (Karloff's) horribly disfigured face is unveiled by Dr. Vollin (Lugosi).



sweep is reminiscent of Strauss's *Don Juan*; a pentatonic theme associated with the mysterious "Radium X" and which bears some resemblance to the melodic minor theme in Hajos's score for *Werewolf of London*; a pretty theme associated with Diane, Rukh's wife (Frances Drake), which is very similar to a theme in the first movement of Chopin's Piano Concerto no. 1; and a love theme for Diane and Ronald Drake (Frank Lawton), who fall in love. Again, the score was orchestrated by Clifford Vaughan.

The music accompanying the opening sequence of *The Invisible Ray*, where the Rukh castle in the Carpathian Mountains is shown, is entitled "Castle in Hungary" and is actually a reworking of the "Storm Scene" from Harling's *Destination Unknown* score. (This was the same Harling cue which was previously tracked for the opening scene of *The Raven*.) The only difference between Harling's and Waxman's cues is that Waxman interpolated a theme of his own ("Diane's theme") in one spot. Ironically, the use of



Waxman's theme in the cue was deleted in the final dubbing so that what is heard in the film is Harling's music alone.<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere in the score, Waxman borrows from himself. For the sequence entitled "The Firmament," where Rukh and his visitors view the images from the light beam carried back from Andromeda, he uses the whole-tone "heaven music" from his *Liliom* score. At the end of the film Waxman uses a few cues from his score for *The Bride of Frankenstein* in the scene where Rukh tries to kill Diane and her new husband.

There are many fine cues in this score, several of which are based on the Rukh theme; for example, the dramatic sequence when Rukh finds the remnants of the meteor containing "Radium X" in Africa. Here the theme is first stated on muted trumpet, seemingly to connote the remoteness of the surroundings, and then, as Rukh approaches the geyser shooting up from a cave containing the meteor, a portentous organ figure is heard in the lower register. At this point, the orchestra suddenly swells into a triumphant exclamation of the Rukh theme in the brass, decorated with rippling woodwinds as Rukh realizes that he has now found that for which he has been searching. "The Firmament" is very interesting as an early example of "outer space" music as we have come to think of it with its use of glockenspiel, vibraphone, organ, and woodwinds to suggest the ethereal images of the cosmos to which Rukh's visitors are witness. When Rukh discovers that he has been poisoned by Radium X, glows in the dark, and kills everything he touches, the orchestration is dominated by tremolando strings, rustling cymbals, and a rippling harp figure. Again, the bass clarinet is used for sinister effect, stating variations of the Rukh theme.

Another very dramatic sequence occurs after Rukh loses his sanity and seeks to kill those he thinks have stolen his discovery from him. One of those on whom Rukh seeks revenge is Ronald Drake, who marries Diane after Rukh is believed to be dead. As Rukh fantasizes that the statues of the five apostles atop the church where Drake weds Diane are the five people who have robbed him of his discovery and his wife, the Rukh theme is stated in a whole-tone variation suggesting his dementia, with malevolent whole-tone chords as accompaniment. The music ac-

companying Rukh's final confrontation with Benet (Lugosi) is also memorable: there is a dramatic culmination of the Rukh and Radium X themes (actually based on an earlier sequence where Rukh tells his guests of his theory) as Rukh tells Benet why he has sought revenge and then proceeds to kill him by touching him with his glowing hand. There are also a number of very tender moments in the score; for example, the scene wherein Rukh sends his wife away after he realizes that he is poisoned is scored with a poignant canonic treatment of the Diana theme in woodwinds. When Rukh cures his mother's blindness with Radium X and she sees her son's careworn face, the accompanying music has a sad and almost hymnlike character and ends with a soulful variation on the Diane theme as Rukh proclaims his tragic fate to his mother.

The twelfth and final film of the horror film cycle produced by the Laemmles, *Dracula's Daughter*, was scored in April 1936 by Heinz Roemheld and was orchestrated by Clifford Vaughan. Waxman was originally scheduled to score the film, but instead moved to MGM, where he had accepted a contract.

Roemheld wrote a score of some forty-five minutes of music (the longest score in the horror film cycle) which, while perhaps not as forceful as his *Black Cat* score, nor as imaginative as the two Waxman scores nonetheless possesses many fine moments. It also demonstrates a certain restraint and greater sophistication in blending music with dialogue and sound effects than previous scores in the series. Another feature which adds a special quality to the music relates to the numerous passages for solo woodwinds and strings, all of which are played beautifully and impart a feeling of intimacy, thereby increasing audience sympathy for the characters.

In terms of film-scoring technique, it is interesting to point out that Roemheld's approach is primarily a melodic one. By and large it is an example of what Oscar Levant once referred to as the "over-all" or "mood" technique, whereby a composer "suggests the whole atmosphere of a sequence with just a few main motives." Levant added, "It can be contended that a good lush motive for a dramatic situation requires more real creative talent than the other kind of writ-



ing," a reference to what was called the "Mickey Mouse" technique, wherein the composer would "catch" things musically. Levant noted: "[In the Mickey Mouse technique] every movement of character on the screen has a complementary bar of music." (Max Steiner was principally credited for developing this technique.)<sup>27</sup> Roemheld once said that Erich Wolfgang Korngold complimented him for his preference of the over-all technique, citing as an example a scene with children at play. Whereas an exponent of the Mickey Mouse technique might use a glissando to catch the movement of each child falling down, Korngold admired Roemheld's approach to such a scene, which was to score it with a scherzo, capturing the over-all mood of playfulness. This is not to say that Roemheld's score for

Karloff as scientist Dr. Janos Rukh, Lugosi as his colleague Dr. Felix Benet, and Frances Drake as Rukh's wife Diane in *The Invisible Ray* (1935).



The scene where Rukh (Karloff) kills Benet (Lugosi) in *The Invisible Ray* merely by touching his hand is highly dramatic both visually and musically. Photo courtesy of Forrest J. Ackerman, Fantasy Film Archives.

*Dracula's Daughter* uses the over-all technique exclusively, since certain actions are indeed caught musically, but rather that the over-all technique predominates.

In light of Roemheld's general approach, it is paradoxical that there is really only one principal theme heard throughout the whole score, a baleful motif associated with Countess Zeleska, Dracula's daughter (Gloria Holden). The piquant dissonance of the minor second intervals in it was a favorite device of Roemheld's, a device he attributed to the influence of his teacher, Hugo Kaun. In many instances, Roemheld uses only the last half of the theme to convey a malevolent, foreboding feeling. This fragment is nearly identical to the second part of the melancholy opening theme of Liszt's *Tasso*, which Roemheld used in *The Black Cat*. There are some twenty themes in the score, nearly all of which are associated with situations and moods rather than with characters. For example, one theme which is the primary subject of the main title seems on the one hand to be associated with Dracula himself (destroyed by Van Helsing at the end of *Dracula*), and on the other, with the "Curse of the Draculas." It has a tragic quality and perhaps Roemheld was trying to express with it the tormented existence the countess endures and yearns to be freed from—her desire to be a mortal woman. This seems particularly evident at the close of the "Cremation Scene," where a poignant variation of this theme is heard. After the countess burns her father's corpse in a futile attempt to rid herself of the vampire curse, she proclaims to her servant, Sandor (Irving Pichel), that she is "free—free forever . . . free to live as a woman, free to take my place among the bright world of the living instead of among the shadows of the dead." It is interesting to note certain Wagnerian touches in this theme, reminding of the "Venusberg" music in Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. Perhaps Roemheld associated Tannhäuser's torment by the otherworldly sirens on Venusberg with the countess's ordeal. The hymnlike piece which constitutes the first part of the "Cremation" music also bears the Wagnerian influence, resembling some of the solemn passages of the Prelude to act 3 of *Die Meistersinger*. Another beautiful variation of Roemheld's tragic theme (where it sounds almost as much like a theme in Sibelius's Symphony no. 1

as like Wagner) is heard at the close of the film, following a reprise of the main title music. After the countess's death, whereupon the heroine Janet Blake (Marguerite Churchill) is released from the spell the countess cast on her, we hear the theme stated in muted strings with delicate harp arpeggios running through it that are suggestive of magic. The influence of Wagner can also be discerned in the sequence which follows the main title, entitled "The Prologue," which is evocative of the "Pilgrim's Chorus" in Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. Again, the common denominator in Roemheld's and Wagner's music is religious solemnity—specifically, an association on Roemheld's part between the solemnity of Carfax Abbey and the procession of the priests in the "Pilgrim's Chorus."

Roemheld once remarked to me that he liked the mythological religiosity and its musical expression in Wagner's music-dramas in contrast to conventional Christian hymnody and thought the former more musically appropriate to the subject matter of *Dracula's Daughter* because of the darker, occult aspects of religion it portrays. (Roemheld, an atheist, once said that if he had a religion it would be the worship of Brahms!)

The film contains yet another instance of source music turning into background scoring. It occurs during the scene where the countess plays Chopin's Nocturne no. 2 on the piano, seeking release in "normal" music, only for Sandor to convince her that the music bespeaks "evil" things instead. The orchestra joins the piano and the music swells into a Beethoven crescendo, followed by silence as she stops playing, overcome with emotion.

Also noteworthy are a few passages in the score accompanying scenes showing crypts—one at the beginning of the film where the inert body of Count Dracula is seen lying in its casket, and another later when the countess is shown retreating to her casket. The musty, sepulchral quality Roemheld conveyed was achieved through his use of low woodwinds in "bare" fifths and fourths. (He may have used the latter intervals because of their association with Gregorian chant. Actually, there is also a slight resemblance between these foreboding interludes and the opening bars of Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique Symphony*.)

There are also a few instances of musical ex-



citement in the score, offsetting the otherwise rather subdued, plaintive, and even dreary mood of the film and music. One is a furious agitato heard in two places, first accompanying the telegraph montage and later during Garth's flight from Croydon Airport. (This piece is somewhat reminiscent of the "Sword Fight" music in Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet*.) As indicated, there are many moments of musical pathos in the score, such as the appasionato theme (which sounds similar to the third major theme in Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* ballet) for the psychiatrist, Geoffrey Garth (Otto Kruger), as he uses hypnosis in fighting the spells cast on the victims of the countess. In a lighter mood, Roemheld wrote suitably humorous music for the comic relief provided by the officious bungling of the English policemen, and a charming dancelike tune written in a popular, even jazzy style, for the flirtatious romance between Garth and his assistant, Janet Blake.

There is a double coincidence in this last film from Universal's horror cycle in that the first and last films in the series were *Dracula* stories, and the music for both was done by the same

Gloria Holden as the vampire Countess Zeleska in *Dracula's Daughter* (1936). Roemheld wrote a tragic theme expressive of the countess's yearning to be a mortal woman. Photo courtesy of Forrest J. Ackerman, Fantasy Film Archives.

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man (there were ten stories and five composers in the interim).

Although *Dracula's Daughter* marked the end of the cycle of horror films produced under the Laemmle regime at Universal, the scores to these films proved to have almost as many lives as some of the characters in the films for which they were written. Large portions of Roemheld's scores for *The Invisible Man* and *The Black Cat*, Hajos's for *Werewolf of London*, and Waxman's for *The Bride of Frankenstein* were tracked into the serials *Flash Gordon* (1936) and *Flash Gordon's Trip to Mars* (1938), as well as into any number of Universal B films, where in some cases the music is heard much more clearly than in the films for which it was composed. In a few instances music which was composed and recorded for the horror films but not actually used can be heard. For example, Waxman's main

title for *The Bride of Frankenstein* as he composed it, and as it was originally recorded can be heard in Universal's *The Black Doll* and *Lady in the Morgue* (both 1938). When the American Federation of Musicians outlawed tracking, insisting that if old music was to be used it would have to be newly recorded with union musicians (because tracking put orchestral musicians out of work), parts of these scores were actually rerecorded for use in *Flash Gordon Conquers the Universe*, in 1939, and *Buck Rogers*, in 1940. That Universal would go to this effort would seem to speak for the power of this music's association with *Flash Gordon* in the minds of fans.<sup>28</sup>

We have seen how the genealogy of these films and their scores comprises a good deal of artistic inbreeding and have noted some of the reasons for this. Often motivated by box office success, Universal tended to use similar stories and the same actors, sets, writers, technicians, and directors from one film to the next; such was also generally true of the music. The music in one film was sometimes used again in subsequent films in the series, and the various composers who wrote the music for the films were often employed from one picture to the next. In addition, the composers sometimes used some of their own music from picture to picture, as well as using the same musical devices in many instances, which surely accounts for a certain similitude in the musical style of these films. To single out a few of the recurring musical devices, there was the frequent use of the whole-tone scale and augmented triads, devices which previously had a long tradition in theater and program music of being associated with supernatural subjects. There is also a marked tendency toward melodic chromaticism in all the scores, and most of the principal themes in them are chromatic. Dissonant, chromatic chords (an important ingredient of "eerie" music to the ears of the layman) and numerous instances of chromatic progressions (with either diatonic or chromatic chords) are heard in every score. Orchestrationally, the use of the organ to color the orchestration was used for unusual effect, perhaps most extensively in Waxman's score for *The Bride of Frankenstein*.

Of the twelve films, eight of them actually quote music from the repertoire of composers of the Romantic period (as exemplified by Liszt and Tchaikovsky). The style of the music composed for these films is also predominantly influenced by composers of the Romantic period and by the "Impressionist" school of Debussy and Ravel. These influences were by no means arbitrary and reflect the fact that the composers were using the music of the Romantic period and Impressionism as a model for what was musically horrific, weird, funereal, and sinister, based on their own psychological associations of this music with certain moods and situations. Such associations were undoubtedly formed in part on the basis of the use of numerous pieces from the concert hall repertoire as accompaniment to silent films. One particularly famous example is the use of different parts of Rossini's *William Tell* Overture for storm scenes and chases.

Finally, it is perhaps also important to point out that unlike many of today's horror films which present the viewer with unrelenting horror both visually and on the sound track, reflected in the music with a continuous stream of weird musical sounds, the scores to Universal's films also contain music of considerable beauty and pathos. This music reflects those elements in the films which form a strong dramatic contrast to the horror and create sympathy for the characters. There are examples of this in nearly every score: Dietrich's theme "The Mummy" clearly seeks to express the solemn beauty and romance of the pyramids in the valley of the kings in Egypt; the soulful little ballad Roemheld wrote to accompany the death of the invisible man as he bids farewell to his girl; Roemheld's Tchaikovskian "Cat Love Theme," "Morgue," and "Cat Threat" in *The Black Cat*; the enchanting "Female Monster Music" in *The Bride of Frankenstein*; the soulful variations of the "Werewolf Theme" in Hajos's *Werewolf of London* score; the heroic theme associated with Karloff in *The Invisible Ray*; and last, the tragic main title theme of *Dracula's Daughter*. The musical depiction of these more sympathetic elements added to the human side of these stories, a side often missing in today's horror films.





It is interesting to note what one of the major stars of these films thought of the music in his films. Boris Karloff, himself an amateur musician who played the organ, once revealed that one of his pet peeves was "background music in films." He said, "I know my films have it too—the heavy sinister stuff. But I still think background music is an insult to the intelligence of audiences. The mood should be conveyed by the action and not have to be underlined." When he was reminded that the original *Frankenstein* had no background music in it, and that background music emerged in films a couple of years afterwards, Karloff responded: "I expect the Musicians' Union eventually decided they wanted more work to do and so we had background music."<sup>29</sup>

The doleful cremation scene in *Dracula's Daughter* depicts the burning of Count Dracula's body by his daughter, Countess Zeleska, accompanied by a melancholy hymn by Roemheld. Photo courtesy of Forrest J. Ackerman, Fantasy Film Archives.

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1. Many facets of these films and their production have been extensively documented by film historians. For this literature, see *Frankenstein*, ed. Richard Anobile (New York: Universe Books, 1974); Calvin Thomas Beck, *Heroes of the Horrors* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975); James Curtis, *James Whale* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1982); Bruce Dettman and Michael Bedford, *The Horror Factory: The Horror Films of Universal, 1931-1955* (New York: Gordon Press, 1976); Arthur Lennig, *The Count* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974); Paul Mandell, *Fright Factory* (in preparation); and Gregory William Mank, *It's Alive! The Classic Saga of Frankenstein* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1981).

2. A few months after *Dracula* was released, a report appeared in the trade press which summarized the rather dubious place horror films occupied in the film industry at the time. See "U Has Horror Cycle All to Self," *Variety* (April 8, 1931): 2.

3. The amount of documentation on these scores varies (e.g., the names of conductors and orchestrators are given where known; mention of them is simply omitted otherwise). In addition to other sources cited, much of the information in this article came from cue sheets supplied by ASCAP (since Universal has none predating 1937); a card file listing public domain music used in Universal films (which gives the date scores were recorded and a chronological list of each film in which a piece was used); another card file listing compositions by title used in Universal films up to late 1930, both card files being located in Universal Studios' Music Department Library (and apparently the only extant Music Department records from that period); and from interviews with the following individuals, conducted by the author between 1969 and 1983: Heinz Roemheld, Bernhard Kaun, Clifford Vaughan, James Dietrich, Gilbert Kurland, Fred P. Sternberg, William F. Schiller, Mrs. Lilianne Hajos Otten, Mrs. Faye Broekman, and Edgar G. Ulmer.

4. For an excellent survey and discussion of music in early sound films see Frederick Steiner, "Where Is the Music Coming From?" chapter 6, in "The Making of an American Film Composer: A Study of Alfred Newman's Music in the First Decade of the Sound Era." Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1981.

5. The information on dialogue dubbing was kindly supplied by Rudy Behlmer, from material contained in his forthcoming book, *Inside Warner Brothers, 1935-1951*.

6. See Isabel Morse Jones, "Tolstoi Film Resurrected," *Los Angeles Times*, August 31, 1930.

7. Scene 2 from *Swan Lake* was used in the score for *City of Silent Men* (1921), compiled by Hugo Riesenfeld, Joseph Carl Breil, Carl Edouarde, and James C. Bradford, and published by Synchronized Scenario Music Co., Chicago. See p. 23, "13 (Title) By Eleven O'Clock." The piece was also in a collection published by Carl Fischer, Inc., entitled *Screen Classics*, compiled and arranged by Charles Roberts. The collection consisted of several folios, the *Swan Lake* selection appearing in "Series 1: Extracts from Six Oriental Classics." Presumably the version used in the recording of *Dracula* was the *Swan Lake* suite published by Fischer, arranged for theater orchestra by Charles Roberts, since it would have been the only one readily available in those days.

8. See *Hollywood Filmograph* (September 27, 1930):

12.

9. Arthur Lennig, *The Count* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), p. 97.

10. See "100% Musical Accom. for Par Films," *Variety* (January 28, 1931): 5; and "Complete Film Scores," *Variety* (September 8, 1931): 116.

11. See "No U Musicians," *Variety* (June 14, 1931): 6.

12. The Lynn Farnol Group, ed., *The ASCAP Biographical Dictionary of Composers, Authors, and Publishers* (New York: The Lynn Farnol Group, Inc., 1966), p. 80.

13. Broekman was the only one to receive screen credit for music during his tenure as music director, even though all the music was composed by other composers, i.e., Roemheld, Kaun, Perry, etc., whose names appear on the cue sheets. Broekman also took out ads in the film industry's trade annuals in which he claimed sole credit for music in fact composed by others. (See the *Motion Picture Almanac* (New York: Quigley Publishing Co., 1931), p. 193, where Broekman claims credit for "synchronization and scores" for *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *Hell's Heroes*, *The White Hell of Pitz Palu*, and *Captain of the Guard*, for which he composed none of the music).

14. *Swan Lake* was used only one more time, both as main and end title to Universal's *Mystery of the Blue Room* (scored in June 1933).

15. Concerning the musical history of the whole-tone scale and augmented triads (a whole-tone chord), see Wilfred Dunwell, "The Augmented Fifth Triad and the Whole-Tone Scale," chap. 2 in *The Evolution of 20th Century Harmony* (London: Novello & Co., Ltd., 1960), p. 26f. An early film score which makes use of augmented triads for scenes depicting a sorcerer at work is the score by Dr. William Axt and David Mendoza for Warner Brothers' *Don Juan* (1926), the first Vitaphone film with a continuous recorded musical accompaniment. So common did augmented triads and whole-tone scales become in film music that composer Hans Eisler was prompted to write the following objection to the use of such clichés: "Forty years ago [circa 1907], when musical impressionism and exoticism were at their height, the whole-tone scale was regarded as a particularly stimulating, unfamiliar, and 'colorful' musical device. Today the whole-tone scale is stuffed into the introduction of every popular hit, yet in motion pictures it continues to be used as if it had just seen the light of day. Thus the means employed and the effect achieved are completely disproportionate. Such a disproportion can have a certain charm when, as in animated cartoons, it seems to show the absurdity of something impossible, for instance, Pluto galloping over the ice to the ride of the Walkyries. But the whole-tone scale so overworked in the amusement industry can no longer cause anyone really to shudder." Hans Eisler, *Composing for the Films* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 17f.

16. Bernard Eisenschitz and Jean-Claude Romer, "Entretien avec Edgar G. Ulmer," *Midi-Minuit Fantastique*, 6 (November 1965), p. 4.

17. See "Roemheld Band at 'U,'" *Hollywood Reporter* (April 13, 1934): 15.

18. Roemheld's recollection is consistent with information pertaining to public domain music on file in Universal's Music Department Library. An index card listing

music in the public domain "world over" includes the music of Tchaikovsky "up to opus 43—after that own risk" (this card entry was apparently made in the early to mid 1930s). Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony, quoted and paraphrased by Roemheld in *The Black Cat*, is opus 74; *Romeo and Juliet* bears no opus number but is dated 1870. The cue sheets for Universal's *Magnificent Obsession*, scored in 1935, which used the *Romeo and Juliet* "love theme" lists French publisher Salabert as publisher. According to another index card, Tchaikovsky's music was protected in France (as of April 25, 1934, when *The Black Cat* was being scored), and also in English-speaking countries outside the United States (as of May 18, 1934). Thus, as Roemheld recalled, either the Tchaikovsky music in question was not in the public domain or else there was doubt about whether or not it was.

19. Calvin Thomas Beck, *Heroes of the Horrors* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975), p. 128f.

20. The ASCAP Index of Performed Compositions (New York, 1963) lists Abe Meyer's Synchronizing Service as holder of the music publishing rights on *Werewolf*, although the cue sheets indicate Southern Music, a publishing affiliate of Universal. Meyer's operation chiefly consisted of supplying small film companies with track scores for their films. These companies ordinarily could not afford specially composed scores, and so Meyer's service would select recorded music from its track library and synchronize it to the films. (Occasionally Meyer did contract original scores for films.) The following press announcement indicates that Meyer's Synchronizing Service was engaged to do track work for Universal (using Universal's own music, however) and perhaps other music editing services as well at that time: "Abe Meyer is currently preparing musical background for eight pictures, spread over five companies—Republic, Universal, Halperin Brothers, Sol Lesser and George Hirliman productions." *Variety* (November 2, 1935): 4. The name Jean De La Roche is listed on the cue sheets of *Werewolf* as arranger on all cues, both original and tracked, as well as on the cue sheets for a number of other Universal films in 1935. Since no arranging was involved in tracking, but only editing and synchronizing, this credit must have some other meaning.

21. Page Cook, "Franz Waxman," *Films in Review*, 19, no. 7 (August-September 1968): 417.

22. John Waxman, [Notes], *Sunset Boulevard: The Classic Film Scores of Franz Waxman* (RCA Records ARL 1-0708).

23. Cook, "Franz Waxman," p. 417.

24. Presumably these alterations in Waxman's score were made by Meyer's Synchronizing Service, since it is so listed in the ASCAP Index and De La Roche's name appears on all cues on the cue sheets. Interestingly, a correction sheet was appended to the cue sheets requesting the deletion of De La Roche's name, stating that it had been listed "in error." Vaughan thought that Waxman had found out about this name appearing on his music and demanded its removal.

25. Compare remarks made to the author in a letter from Kaun, dated October 8, 1974: "When I got the first picture at WB [Warner Brothers] of who-done-it stories, good old Leo Forbstein [Warner Brothers Music Department head] liked my job and from then on gave me all

the 'mysteries,' saying: 'Nobody can make them sneak like Bernhard can.' Well, I didn't mind to get that 'stamp' and, as a matter of fact, I liked that sort of thing. It gave me a chance to experiment with weird sound. There must have been dozens of skeletons falling out of closets with the accompaniment of Mr. K's music—flutter in the brass [italics added] and other stuff."

26. Given that the two cues are nearly identical, it is strange that Harling's name is not given on the cue sheet, but only Waxman's (which is unusual for cue sheets in that they normally correctly reflect credit for reused music; on a studio acetate disc recording of the cue which Waxman owned, the piece is entitled "Storm Scene"). It might also be added that the principal theme of "Storm Scene" is from Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody no. 1.

27. Oscar Levant, *A Smattering of Ignorance* (Garden City: Garden City Publishing Co., 1942), pp. 105-8.

28. It was in conjunction with these films that the various selections used were specially copied out in conductor parts and copyrighted with the U.S. Copyright Office. Some of these were later transferred to the Music Division of the Library of Congress, where they reside today. Were it not for this decision on the part of Universal to copyright this music, it would not have survived in printed form, since at some time during the 1940s, possibly when Universal merged with International Pictures (to become Universal-International), all music predating 1936 was discarded, as were all files and indexes pertaining to it. While incomplete, the music on file at the Copyright Office and the Music Division of the Library of Congress and a duplicate copy in Universal's Music Department Library represents the only printed music extant for *The White Hell of Pitz Palu*, *The Invisible Man*, *The Black Cat*, *Werewolf of London*, *The Raven*, and *The Invisible Ray*. Since *Dracula's Daughter* was composed at the time Universal was copyrighting the music, a virtually complete conductor part survives for this score in the Library of Congress and at Universal. Sketches for *The Mummy* have been kept by Dietrich (still alive at this writing) and sketches from *The Bride of Frankenstein* are located in the Franz Waxman Collection, George Arents Research Library (Special Collections), Syracuse University, New York.

29. Peter J. Jarman, "The House at the End of the World," in *The Frankenscience Monster*, ed. Forrest J. Ackerman (New York: Ace Books), p. 162.

#### Recordings

The only commercially recorded music from these scores is from *The Bride of Frankenstein*, "The Creation of the Female Monster," on *Sunset Boulevard: The Classic Film Scores of Franz Waxman*, Charles Gerhardt conducting the National Philharmonic Orchestra (RCA Records ARL 1-0708). A number of acetate discs made from the music tracks of *The Bride of Frankenstein* and *The Invisible Ray* are located in the Franz Waxman Collection at Syracuse University.

# Recent Publications of the Library of Congress

## Artists for Victory

1983. 136 pp. (S/N 030-000-00146-0) \$5.50 By Ellen G. Landau.

One hundred artists participated in the "America in the War" exhibition shown simultaneously at twenty-six institutions in October 1943. These printmakers presented a "picture of America in 1943, of a country and a people in the second year of war." The author of this illustrated catalog, Ellen G. Landau, discusses the artists' wartime organization—Artists for Victory, Inc.—and gives biographical information about the artists who participated in the exhibition. Forty-one of their exhibited prints are illustrated in the catalog. The show itself has been recreated at the Library of Congress and will be on view at five other institutions: the Central Intelligence Agency Fine Arts Commission, McLean, Virginia; the U.S. Army Air Defense Museum, Fort Bliss, Texas; the Mather Gallery, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio; the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum, Austin, Texas; and the Presidential Museum, Odessa, Texas.

## Carl Schurz, 1829-1906

1983. iv, 20 pp. Compiled by Clara Lovett, European Division. Free from the Library of Congress, European Division, Washington, D.C. 20540.

This biobibliography, published in honor of the 300th anniversary of the first German settlements in the United States, is intended to introduce readers unfamiliar with the history of German immigration both to the accomplishments of Carl Schurz and to the political and cultural milieu in which Schurz lived. Although written primarily for nonspecialists, the publication may prove useful to professional scholars and librarians who are unable to sift through hundreds of books and periodical articles for the significant material pertaining to Schurz's life and times. The list of entries that follows the biographical and bibliographical sections has been compiled from hundreds of items about German-Americans found in the collections of the Library of Congress.

## Children's Books 1982

1983. 16 pp. (S/N 030-001-00102-4) \$2.75  
Compiled by Margaret N. Coughlan, with the assistance of a committee of children's books specialists.

The nineteenth in a series of annual guides to current children's literature published by the Library of Congress, this booklet lists 147 titles selected from more than two thousand new juvenile trade books published in the United States last year. The annotated list is intended to aid public and school librarians, educators, and parents. It represents a wide variety of books considered useful and enjoyable for children from preschool through junior high school age. The titles described present a balance of leisure reading, books for school reading programs, books to be shared in reading aloud, and books for background reading and as supplements to the school curriculum. Picture books, easy reading, fiction for beginning and more advanced readers, books of poetry, rhymes, and songs, and books about folklore, arts and hobbies, history, geography, biography, science, and psychology are included. The cover of the booklet features an illustration by William Steig taken from his book *Doctor De Soto*.

## Historic America

Buildings, Structures, and Sites Recorded by the  
Historic American Buildings Survey and the  
Historic American Engineering Record

1983. 726 pp. (S/N 030-000-00149-4) \$29.

Checklist compiled by Alicia Stamm and essays edited by C. Ford Peatross.

The vast collections of photographs, measured drawings, and data sheets produced by the ongoing efforts of the Historic American Buildings Survey to document our nation's significant historic architecture are available to researchers at the Library of Congress and through microfilm and microfiche reproductions. The comprehensive, national checklist published here lists 16,738 buildings, structures, and sites documented by HABS from 1933 through January 1, 1982, and by its sister survey, the Historic American Engineering Record, from 1969. Generated





John Philip Sousa with his band at Coney Island, ca. 1900.

from an automated data base, the list is the first comprehensive guide to the HABS/HAER collections since the 1941 *Catalog of the Measured Drawings and Photographs of the Survey in the Library of Congress* and its 1959 supplement. Fifteen illustrated essays published with the checklist suggest the range of materials in the collections—they describe the documenting of Philadelphia's architecture, the use of cast iron in building, and the recording of

farm buildings and covered bridges, and discuss related architectural, design, and engineering collections at the Library of Congress. More than four hundred architectural photographs and drawings from the collections are reproduced in the book. Historians, preservationists, and individuals interested in the restoration of their homes or hometowns will find this an interesting and valuable guide.



## Liberia during the Tolbert Era: A Guide

1983. vii, 79 pp. Prepared by Beverly Ann Gray and Angel Batiste. Maktaba Africana Series.

Free from the African Section, African and Middle Eastern Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

A bibliography of literature relating to Liberia—its agriculture, arts, commerce and trade, economics, educational systems, geography, languages, law, politics and government, and religion. The 451 titles listed cover the period of the administration of William R. Tolbert, Jr., president of the country from July 1971 to April 1980, and are drawn from government documents, books, pamphlets, periodical articles, and dissertations in the collections of the Library of Congress. An index to authors, titles, and selected subjects is provided.

## Literacy in Historical Perspective

1983. iv, 165 pp. (S/N 030-000-00142-7) \$8. Edited by Daniel P. Resnick.

In his introduction, Daniel P. Resnick writes: "Of all the ways employed by the human spirit to demonstrate and memorialize its playfulness, its participation in communities, and its search for knowledge, writing is the most complex. . . . Yet for most of history, reading and writing have been the monopoly of a small elite who served the religious and secular authority." In July 1980 the Center for the Book in the Library of Congress and the U.S. National Institute of Education sponsored a conference entitled "Literacy in Historical Perspective" to discuss the literacy research that is needed and to report on the research that is already in progress. Eight of the papers commissioned for the meeting are presented in this volume. In addition, a final chapter offers a bibliographical essay that describes important books and articles on the subject of literacy.

## Perspectives on John Philip Sousa

1983. viii, 114 pp. (S/N 030-001-00103-2) \$17. Edited and with an introduction by Jon Newsom.

John Philip Sousa was both a great composer and a cultural statesman of international importance. Three decades ago, the Music Division in the Library of Congress received a major collection of Sousa manuscripts from his family, and the collection has prompted the publication of this book of seven essays by men and women with diverse careers in music, history, business, and journalism. Their observations range from an appreciation of Sousa's compositional genius by William Schuman to personal observations by John Philip Sousa III. Regard-

ing Sousa's critical relationship with his first manager, David Blakely, the reader has two essays, one by Neil Harris and another by Margaret L. Brown. Concerning Sousa's musical influences, innovations, and composing methods, there are three essays: Pauline Norton discusses the march tradition to which Sousa was heir, Frederick Fennell presents a conductor's view of the most important marches, and James R. Smart examines Sousa's method of composing *The Stars and Stripes Forever*.

There are over forty contemporary photographs, some in color, both formal and informal, of the Sousa band in concert and on the road, in a photo essay amplified with pictures of various documents that illuminate the story of Sousa's career. These illustrations, drawn from the collections of the Library of Congress, the U.S. Marine Band Library, and the New York Public Library, as well as from family photograph albums, provide some sense of the time and place in which Sousa worked and thrived.

## A Portrait of the Author as a Bibliography

1983. 19 pp. By Dan H. Laurence. The Center for the Book Viewpoint Series, No. 9. Free from the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

One of the leading bibliographers of our time, whose two-volume bibliography of Bernard Shaw was published by Oxford University Press this year, answers the question, "Why do you do it?" The rewards for the painstaking work of tracing an author's career are not monetary and do not reside in public recognition—"no Oscars or Emmys, no Pulitzers or Nobels"—but involve the satisfaction of an innate curiosity and "the excitement of the quest and the tantalizing stimulus of mystery." The result of bibliographic scholarship is "the graphic recreation of the subjects' lives in the context of their professional business involvement and experiences." Collectors, textual scholars, booksellers, and librarians all at times enter into the bibliographic collaboration necessary to assembling the authoritative bibliographic portrait of an author.

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